DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 094 107 CE 001 555

AUTHOR	Spiegel, Hans B. C.
TITLE	Not for Work Alone: Services at the Workplace. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	City Univ. of New York, N.Y. Hunter Coll. Urban Research Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C. Office of Research and Development.
REPORT NO	DLMA-21-36-73-08-1
PUB DATE	Feb 74
NOTE	205p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$10.20 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education Programs; Community Services; *Family Programs; *Human Services; Industrial Relations; Industry; Occupational Surveys; Recreational Activities; Self Actualization; *Social Services; *Social Welfare; Work Environment; Youth Opportunities

ABSTRACT

The report explores deliberately planned endeavors to provide nonwork related services at or through the workplace. The historical context and present-day complexities of workplace service provision are reviewed. Twenty-three workplaces are examined yielding a total of 615 different instances of specific services. Services are classified into eight service categories such as education, community service, and individual and family assistance. Eleven cases of service programs are described. Recommendations include criteria for initiating workplace services, stressing the importance of viable employee participation; a new organizational framework for workplace service delivery patterned after the credit union; and development of employee needs assessment programs as prelude to services planning. A selected bibliography is appended. (Author)

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NOT FOR WORK ALONE
SERVICES AT THE WORKPLACE

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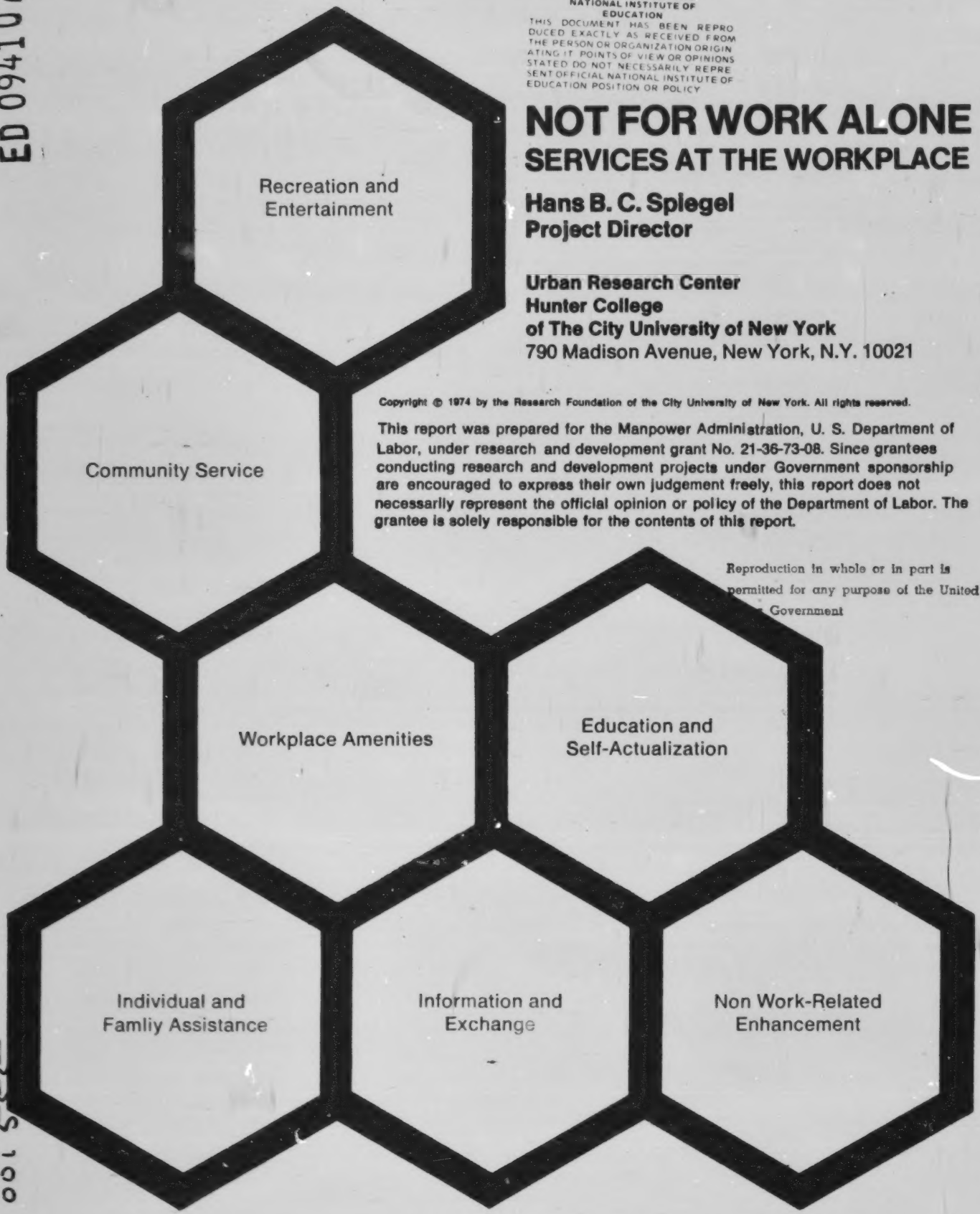

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This report was prepared for the Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor, under research and development grant No. 21-36-73-08. Since grantees conducting research and development projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express their own judgement freely, this report does not necessarily represent the official opinion or policy of the Department of Labor. The grantee is solely responsible for the contents of this report.

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CE 001 555

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. DLMA 21-36-73-08-1	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle: Not for Work Alone: Services at the Workplace			5. Report Date: February, 1974 6.
7. Author(s): Hans B. C. Spiegel			8. Performing Organization Rept. No. RF 05054
9. Performing Organization Name and Address: Hunder College of the City University of New York Urban Research Center 790 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. 10021			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No. 11. Contract/Grant No. DL 21-36-73-08
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address: U. S. Department of Labor Manpower Administration Office of Research and Development 601 D St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20210			13. Type of Report & Period Covered: Final report 14.

15. Supplementary Notes
Applicant organization: Hunter College jointly with the Research Foundation of City University of New York.

16. Abstracts
The report explores deliberately planned endeavors to provide non-work related services at or through the workplace. The historical context and present-day complexities of workplace service provision are reviewed. Twenty-three workplaces are examined yielding a total of 615 different instances of specific services. Services are classified into eight service categories such as education, community service, and individual and family assistance. Eleven cases of service programs are described. Recommendations include criteria for initiating workplace services, stressing the importance of viable employee participation; a new organizational framework for workplace service delivery patterned after the credit union; and development of employee needs assessment programs as prelude to services planning. A selected bibliography is appended.

17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors
Social welfare
Personnel (used for employees)
Learning
Education
Fringe benefits
Government policies
Information systems
Surveys
Industrial relations
Universities

17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms
Non-work related services
Supplemental uses of workplace

17c. COSATI Field/Group 5I

18. Availability Statement	19. Security Class (This Report)	21. No. of Pages
Distribution is unlimited. Available from National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Va. 22151	UNCLASSIFIED	
	20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

FORM NTIS-35 (REV. 3-72) THIS FORM MAY BE REPRODUCED USCOMM-DC 14952-P72

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Issue: Establishing Some Parameters

As anyone who has ever met a payroll should know, the workplace is used for many other purposes than the production of goods and services. Numerous activities take place in factories, offices, and other work-settings that have little to do with the work task, per se. These activities range from the very informal gossip of two secretaries about last night's TV show to the company's providing remission of tuition payment of an employee's liberal arts course at the community college. In both cases, the focus of the activity at or through the workplace is the individual employee and his or her personal agenda, rather than the short range institutional objective of the employer.

This report focuses on such non-work related activities, or more precisely, on activities at or through the workplace that help an individual meet non-work needs. Though we do not intend to overlook the important informal activities that go on during the usual work day (including the innumerable chats, raps, discussions, jokes, greetings, inquiries about one's well-being and related aspects of verbal socializing), our report will be skewed towards the deliberately planned endeavors to provide services that will deal with non-work oriented problems the worker faces outside the boundaries of his workplace. That workplace, in case there may be questions about it, can be a shop, a factory, an office, a governmental agency, a manufacturing concern, a non-profit organization that discharges services, or, for that matter, an urban research center within the confines of a large university.

1. What is a service?

For a considerable portion of this report we will be talking about "services." What is a service, and particularly, what is a "non-work related service"? The focus of most activities at the workplace revolves around production of goods and services with its innumerable ancillary relationships such as supervisor-employee relations, training for effective management, collective bargaining over wages, working conditions and benefits, etc. As we use the term, the focus of the services, however, is the "non-productive" roles of the employee that are designed to enhance his functioning as a citizen, as a parent, as a bowler, as a hobbyist, as a seeker after philosophical knowledge or as a taxpayer needing help in preparing his income tax form.

There appears to be a thin dividing line between "services," and "benefits." As we interviewed employees, management representatives, and even "experts," the two terms often were used interchangeably. Indeed, "benefits and services" are used in one breath in more than one enterprise. The Manual of Standard Practices of one large manufacturing corporation, for example, contains a five hundred page section on "Employee Benefits and Services." The manual covers some three dozen categories, such as automobile expense allowance, credit union, death of employee, group accident and

sickness insurance, group life insurance, half-century club, loans to employees, major medical insurance, meal allowance, retirement plan, savings plan, and vacation. (From this report's point of view almost none of the above would be considered services since the activities indicated are closely work-connected. Possible exceptions might be activities occurring under "Employee Associations" which sets forth the conditions under which voluntary organizations, clubs, or teams can be recognized, and such efforts as pre-retirement counseling.)

Another corporation defines a benefit as something provided by the company across the board for all employees or something for which the company pays the full cost. A service, on the other hand, is only provided to a segment of the workforce or is only partially subsidized by the company. For example, the company retirement and pension plans would be classified as benefits while retirement counseling would be considered a service. For another example, this corporation considers the cafeteria a service since it is not used by the entire workforce and since it is only partially subsidized.

Others point to benefits, in the words of our Philadelphia colleagues, who are conducting a complimentary workplaces study, as "non-wage modes of compensation which provide real or intangible income to employees." (Center for Research on the Acts of Man, 1972, p. 1). In this view, benefits represent something extra, beyond wages, which the employee receives in the form of bonuses, time-off, insurance coverage, etc. These "benefits" are frequently subject to collective bargaining; they represent a part of the package that spells direct and/or indirect income to an employee. These benefits tend to assume major proportions in labor relations. For example, under health benefits alone a variety of plans are made available, often simultaneously: life insurance, hospitalization, surgical and medical care, accidental death and dismemberment, accident and sickness, maternity, and major medical expenses (Skeels, 1965, p. 738). In many ways, these benefits represent monetary equivalents for employees that can be translated into concrete dollars and cents figures.

The debate over what is a service and what is a benefit can become very involved and cumbersome. Management and labor each have different perceptions and in some instances never make the distinction between the two. We do not wish to get overly ensnarled in semantic antics (the term originated, we believe, with ILGWU's Mark Starr) and offer below a broad gauged definition of services, or more precisely about "non-work related services."

For the purposes of this study we shall utilize the term "service" to denote organized activities at or through the workplace whose primary intent, focus, thrust, or direction does not point towards the on-the-job productive capacity of the person-as-employee, but towards the off-the-job roles of the employee-as-person, including his role as family member and citizen. Thus, the generic or primary uses of the workplace are those activities that are directly relevant to the employee's "productive" role of person-as-employee. The supplementary uses of the workplace, on the other hand, represent those activities that enhance the employee's role as a private person.

It should be underscored that, while we stress non-work related services, there is no such thing as an airtight work-related role to be

contrasted with a 100% non-work related role. For example, the liberal arts course for which the company remits tuition, mentioned above, would be considered a service because it is a non-work related activity that supposedly enhances the employee's personal agenda. But one of the possible results of taking such a course of studies might conceivably be a more fulfilled, joyful, and productive worker, or, on the other hand, a more doubting and frustrated one, too. The point is simply that within the confines of one person, work and non-work roles interact, play upon one another, and at times meld. The interaction of these roles is significant because it helps to produce the definition of self.

There is, thank God, a firm and undilutable connection between the employee-as-person and the person-as-employee. The activities which we are about to describe as "non-work related services" (or, as we shall shorten it for the remainder of this report, as simply "services") will often have impact on the employee's work roles and vice versa. We acknowledge the conceptual grey areas upon which we therefore may tread.

2. Why look to the workplace for services?

Many human services use the community as its main context. The traditional categories of social and welfare services, recreational services, educational services, health services, and so forth, have relied heavily upon community institutions to disseminate information about their availability and the actual delivery of the service. These services are administered by governmental and private welfare agencies, the schools, the hospitals, and other public, voluntary, and private profit-making organizations. With differing success, these service organizations try their best to reach the potential users with their services. To get the person in need of a given service together with the service provider is an activity fraught with great difficulty in the democratic society. Service organizations utilize broad public appeals (to stop smoking or to "give a damn"), engage in "aggressive availability," hire "out-reach personnel," work through community organizations and use innumerable ways to motivate potential service users (and, of course, volunteers) to please step forward.

One would imagine that service providers would welcome situations where many people are assembled, even as a captive audience, facilitating the task of service information and provision. There are, however, only limited institutions where individuals gather in a more or less organized and predictable manner over a given time span. Such institutions might include the armed forces, the prisons, the public schools--and the workplace. Among these institutions the workplace has by far the largest constituency. Consider the workplace's unique position. Here millions of persons from a wide variety of backgrounds gather day in and day out, over long periods of time. It appears that the workplace presents a powerful opportunity for the use--and, as will be pointed out shortly, the misuse--of services and information. The occasion of many persons gathered with great regularity should facilitate giving information about, and delivery of, selected services.

This is a lesson well known to totalitarian governments who utilize the workplace for recitations from the Red Book, the display of propaganda posters, or the "patriotic" use of loudspeakers. But the value dilemma

faced by anyone engaged in assessing the supplementary uses of the workplace, goes further than the rather obvious danger of manipulation by whatever party that holds the reins of power and decision making. Another aspect of the potential misuse of services at the workplace concerns the viability and ethicacy of attempting to intrude upon the privacy of employees even in the benign guise of offering them assistance on a voluntary basis. Perhaps, it might be argued, the wall of separation erected between the work environment and the home and community is functional and should not be breached.

At any rate, the workplace does appear to present a potential for supplementary usage that has not been sufficiently explored. The U. S. Department of Labor, from whom we received a research grant to study this issue, seemed amenable to such explorations. In July 1972 the Center for Research on the Acts of Man in Philadelphia and we were given similar assignments to conduct exploratory studies in this field.

3. The lead-questions

The Hunter College team dealt with the following two lead-questions that guided its endeavors:

> What types of services exist in selected American workplaces? And, as a result of such an inquiry, can the place of employment be used more systematically as a site for providing assistance to workers in meeting non-work problems and if so, what types of assistance for what types of problems and in what workplace settings would be appropriate?

These questions implied, first of all, that we needed to take a quick look at what presently exists in the realm of services at workplaces. We needed to map the territory, so to speak, even if only in broad and schematic strokes and even if only for a limited number of work settings. We knew of a number of non-work related services in places of employment and were aware that we were not exploring virgin territory. We were surprised, however, how poorly documented the services we discovered actually were and also, how many different types of services were discovered.

Second, we did not wish to remain on the descriptive level, but were asked to make recommendations as to the potential use--or uselessness--of the workplace for service delivery. We wish to underline here that the Department of Labor insisted, of course, that we follow the data where it would lead us, and we were explicitly told that if our study indicated essentially a negative response--that is, if our findings would lead us to recommend staying away from services at the workplace--such a conclusion would be thoroughly acceptable.

Third, the lead-questions further implied that the provision of assistance was not limited to any traditional form of service (à la traditional case work services, for example), but should include, to the extent possible, new patterns of supplementary uses of the workplace.

Fourth, and by the same token, we did not wish to make any assumptions about the nature or character of the service-deliverer. At the workplace a given service activity could be sponsored by management, the organized or

unorganized employees, government, community-based service providers, other third parties, or any combination of these.

Fifth, we kept referring to "services at or through the workplace," recognizing that we should look carefully at the various activities that are of an informational or exchange nature, rather than only organized services that are discharged at the work site. So, for example, referral or information services that tell an employee how and where he can obtain assistance may, in the end, be as important as an office, at the work site, where problems can be treated and solved.

Sixth, we were aware of the dangers of overgeneralizations about services. We needed to analyze, codify and distinguish a variety of activities that often are grouped together under a single rubric. In making recommendations we were aware of the need to specify activity patterns and not to urge greater human compassion.

Finally, we recognized that we had a large and sometimes ferocious tiger by the tail when talking about "meeting non-work problems." With much current interest in worker alienation, re-integrating work and life, industrial democracy, job enrichment, matching personal and work agendas, etc., we could easily become entrapped in a closely related and important area, that others can study more thoroughly than we can. We tried to be cognizant of some of these current writings and use some data from such sources, but only for our more modest ends which did not include increasing the worker's satisfaction with the generic work tasks.

This report is not an historical accounting of services. Nevertheless, we did believe it important to set forth at least some brief reviews of the historical, economic-political, and socio-psychological context of our explorations. This is the task we turn to in the next section.

B. The Issue: Its Setting in the Broader Context

The idea of services at the workplace cannot be discussed without attention to the broader backdrop against which to see them. As the psychologist would say, a figure-ground relationship is involved. We will limit ourselves to two areas of observations of the "ground." The first deals with the changing nature of the labor market and with some brief historical glimpses of workplace services. The second area discusses the broad range of needs and how they are met at the workplace; here we point to the limitations and possible misuses of services to meet employee needs.

1. A brief historical sketch

Professor Stanley Moses lucidly discusses some of the major changes that have impinged upon the American labor force and speculates about some future trends. His entire paper can be read in the Appendix. He documents the occupational changes resulting from an economy that has shifted its emphasis from goods to services over many decades; he points out that "the processor of paper and the purveyors of goods replace the producers of goods

as the major activities involved in the work force." He traces the change in work setting; the increasing numbers that work as wage and salary employees in large as well as relatively small organizations. Professor Moses looks at increased longevity coupled with an increase in work life expectancy, but with relatively fewer hours spent on the job over a year. He discusses the mismatch between jobs and skills in a metropolitanized economy in which employees must undertake a long journey to work. He cites the suburban workplace where "each firm (may be) an enclave unto itself, unapproachable except by car . . ." and the inner city job centers that are dependent upon commuters from the suburbs. He looks critically at the characteristics of those presently in the labor force, stressing such items as male-female worker discrepancies.

Finally, Professor Moses looks at implications of these trends for the planning and provision of workplace services. After some telling observations, the following concluding paragraphs give us a flavor of his thinking.

> . . . From day care and counseling services to the most highly specialized programs of technical and vocational training and retraining, we may expect to see a greater demand for an active role on the part of employers and unions to respond to the changing needs of workers for more services.
>
> Regardless of what form the specific needs and services demands may take, the over-all context of the society seems fairly discernible. The individual will continue to develop within the context of three central social institutions--the family, schools and the place of employment. . . . Family and personal income will be significantly higher, allowing for greater choices among work and leisure. Paid employment and occupations will still be the central delineators of status and class but there will probably be more room for flexibility in decisions regarding the time and extent of labor force participation. While status will still be closely tied to occupations and income, the effects of increasing educational attainment, lower birth rates and higher household income will enhance the leverage and decision making power residing in the individual. Workers will endure less dissatisfaction at the work site as part of a tradeoff for higher income. Consequently the organization and structure of the work environment will have to be adjusted to make allowances for the greater needs and demands presented by workers. These demands do not only relate to jobs and work, but for adults the work site will still remain the greatest single consumer of time, attention and energy. And it is very likely that to cushion the tension of these new demands upon work both management and unions will in the future have to make greater allowances for relating to workers in ways different from the traditional market mechanisms of wages and fringe benefits. Instead, concern will have to be shifted to the dynamics and conflicts resulting from individual growth and change in an increasingly affluent society where even if work no longer remains as critically defining as before, it will still be necessary more than ever before to develop a broader understanding of the worker-person in terms of changing generational and life cycle patterns.

The central point of Moses' argument--that the demand for services will shift with demographic changes of the workforce, changes in the condition of work, and changes in the work task--is borne out by considering some non-work related services of the past.

If we go back to medieval times we find, of course, that work and non-work activities were inseparably linked. Work was prey to all the suspicions, ceremonies, and rules of the other aspects of life. There was no secular-sacred split. Call it "integration of the various roles of man" or call it "omnipresent oppression" by the feudal establishment, the world of work and the world of non-work were, in fact, tied into one conceptual and organizational whole in which some people were on top and many at the bottom. The exit from medievalism was marked by the secularization of work with its emphasis on productivity and a shift in organizational allegiance. And after this change was accomplished and the mercantile and industrial revolutions had run their course there were varied examples of services by employers. There was the company town with the company store and the company doctor representing a system, often exploitative, that nevertheless provided services. There was the paternalism of the boss lending funds to certain workers. And, of course, there were slaves and indentured laborers who depended upon whatever meager services would be doled out.

Employees, themselves, provided services at or through the workplace. One of the earliest examples is the weavers of Rochdale who, in the 1840s started the first consumer cooperative. There were the cigar workers, including Samuel Gompers, who rolled cigars while one of their numbers was the reader of a given tract which was then discussed. And there was the use of the workplace and worker organizations for political purposes by the French syndicalists and during the Russian revolution, to cite but two examples separated by place and time.

Since World War I there have also been efforts by community based service providers to seek entrance into the workplace. The YMCA had an active industrial program. Industrial ministries were not uncommon. The French worker-priest movement during and immediately after the second World War is another example. Whilst speaking of World War II, what participant in an armed service "workplace" does not remember the services provided by the USO and the Red Cross, most of which were directed towards the service man's personal agenda?

The following chapters are full of services provided by management and community service providers. Unions, too, are listed, and it might be useful to point out that unions have pioneered many non-work related services from the provision of union counselors to health services for the employee's family, from purchasing plans to educational programs, from leisure time activities to vacation camps.

While this quick recitation of isolated services is intended to show that non-work related services were not invented yesterday, it would be a mistake to infer that they had become a legitimate and commonly accepted part of every workplace 25 or 50 years ago. They had not. Even at a time of national emergency during World War II when much effort went into war production and little money was spared to produce weapons, relatively little attention was paid to the aggravated non-work needs of the labor force.

In this respect, the experiences of Ford's bomber plant in Willow Run, Michigan, are instructive. In a sense, Willow Run represents a horror story within a success story. The success story is well known: Between September 10, 1942 when the first B-24 Liberator Bomber was completed on the assembly line, until June 28, 1945 when Bomber #8,685 rolled off the line, production increased to a peak of one Bomber produced every 63 minutes. It was a marvel of engineering and worker productivity.

The horror story is best told by the leaders of a study team from the University of Michigan:

> . . . Willow Run brought out the interdependence of factory and community in ways that an ordinary factory in normal times never does, and it dramatized from coast to coast the more visible consequences of meeting twentieth-century problems with the social vision of 1800. Built out in the open country 3 miles from a little college-industrial town, Ypsilanti, in southeastern Michigan and 27 miles west of its natural labor pool, Detroit, Willow Run began fabricating bomber parts in December, 1941. It began--believe it or not--<u>without any provision whatever by anybody--by management or by state or Federal governments--for living accommodations or community services for anybody anywhere</u>. It began, in other words, on the bland assumption that housing and community services would all be provided "somehow," "somewhere," "sometime" by "somebody" for 10, 20, 100,000 new workers in <u>existing communities miles away</u>, communities whose existing houses were already filled to capacity and whose construction industries had not been alerted and were simply not manned to build the tens of thousands of new homes that would be needed overnight! (Carr and Stermer, 1952, p. 10)

To what extent is today's response to services different from those described by the Michigan researchers? The succeeding chapters will shed some light on the question.

2. <u>Enter: The humanization of work and "corporate responsibility"</u>

During the past decade a number of American institutions have been undergoing considerable changes that try to make these institutions' operations more congruent with their constituencies' personal agendas. John D. Rockefeller 3rd calls this "the humanizing revolution" (Rockefeller, 1973, p. 6). Hardly a major institution has escaped being buffeted by the sometimes strong winds of these humanizing endeavors. The church has brought about changed conditions for clergy and laity, elementary and secondary schools permit much more extensive student options, higher education has considerably loosened the "academic lock step," the family is having to adapt to new values by children, the arts have tried to accommodate the changing sexual norms, and even "the Army wants to join <u>you</u>," to quote the recruiting poster--that is, to bring a serviceman's private and work agendas closer together.

Besides "humanizing," one of the key words is "participation." This implies a heightened degree of personal involvement of the institution's constituency in helping to establish the goals and procedures of that institution. As we have noted elsewhere, this demand for participation has even invaded the realm of governmental programs; to many citizens it is no longer

sufficient to participate in the democratic process through periodic elections, but now insist on a more direct input to programs that directly affect their lives (Spiegel, 1973). And government along with many other institutions has accommodated itself to these urgings for a greater voice in policy and operational decisions. The resulting changes may not be as all-encompassing as Rockefeller and others appear to think, but even if these shifts are only incremental and not revolutionary, the direction of the change--from relatively more authoritarian to relatively more participatory and humanizing--appears unmistakable. What is disturbing is the realization that while this change occurs at the grassroots level, countervailing elitist tendencies take place at the top (Gross, 1973, p. 325), as evidenced, for example, by the White House plumbers.

It is perhaps surprising that the workplace had escaped this recent thrust for so long. While a generation ago during the Great Depression, the workplace was a central object of wide-spread public criticism, the more recent objects were the schools, the church, the family, etc. Until perhaps a few years ago, the workplace was not challenged on as broad a front as a number of other institutions. This is surprising because the workplace is so central and pervasive in the lives of Americans. But perhaps this very centrality of the social contract for work and the dependence upon work for so broad a segment of the population helped to dampen the isolated cries for changing the old patterns.

Now, however, the workplace, too, has emerged as fair game for the reformers. The main thrust of much current writing and dialogue, if our opinion is at all near the mark, deals with the humanization of the generic work task and the relating of enterprises and their resources to community problems. There has not been very much discussion, however, about our area of special attention, namely non-work related services at or through the workplace. These assertions deserve brief elaboration.

Much of the recent popular attention to the workplace has dealt with the work task itself. The concerns expressed were around decision making by a given work team, about the avoidance of unnecessary repetition, about changing work hour requirements, or other means of increasing job satisfaction. The press has been involved in this debate. During a little more than a year, the New York Times published numerous articles with headlines such as these:

"Auto Workers are Given a Voice on Assembly Line"
"Blue Collar, White Collar"
"G. E. Workers Upstate are Discontented with Work Itself"
"Industrial Democracy: It Catches on Faster in Europe than U. S."
"Coming to Work Whenever You Want"
"Conflicting Theories on Efficient Work: Repetition vs. Satisfaction"
"Can a Worker Find Happiness in a Dull Job?"
"Job Enrichment: Nice but No Cure-All"
"Fiat's Social Program is Rolling"

A goodly number of books designed for the general reader have rolled off the presses and have been widely reviewed (Jenkins, 1973; HEW Task Force, 1973; Sheppard and Herrick, 1972; Sexton and Sexton, 1971; Sennett and Cable, 1972). Regardless of how one judges the merits of these articles and books,

the fact remains that new attention has been focused on the idea of work and the conditions of work. "Industrial democracy," "job redesign," and even the German concept of "Mitbestimmung" are no longer terms reserved for the specialist; many in the general public will recognize them.

Similarly, renewed attention has recently been paid to the relationship between the enterprise and the community, principally those sponsored by management. Perhaps more than any other single factor in stimulating this relationship have been the racial disturbances of the late 60s which gave rise to efforts designed to relate business and industry more centrally to societal problems and more specifically, to the needs of racial minorities in the inner city. Organizations have been formed to deal with this issue, from the Urban Coalition to local inter-business groups. The Public Affairs Council (1972) lists 296 "leading American companies" with urban affairs programs. Many of these corporations have officers with titles such as "Corporate Director, Community Relations Services," "Urban Affairs Director," "Vice President, Urban and Environmental Affairs," "Manager of Community Affairs," and "Vice President, Civic Affairs." Cohn (1971) surveyed the business sector's efforts in this realm from 1967 to 1970 and says, "Most corporations that tried to meet the challenges of urban affairs activities, whether by setting up special manpower programs, expanding their training facilities, revising donations policies, or investing in slum economic development programs, have encountered difficulties" (p. 105).

A later survey also contains some disquieting results. Of 535 social involvement programs on which data was collected, the majority were adjudged as showing "overwhelming lack of creativity and imagination" (Human Resources Corporation, 1972, p. I-20). Nonetheless, there has been ferment and movement. It is not clear how far management will take "corporate responsibilities" or "urban affairs" or whatever other name this broad area is given. Happily, there are organizations presently monitoring corporate involvement such as the highly literate new quarterly, Business and Society Review/ Innovation.

3. Complexities of responding to unmet personal needs

The name of our endeavor is supplemental uses of the workplace for services. There is nothing supplementary about humanizing the generic work task, the first of the two factors just discussed. The primary use of the workplace remains, of course, the production of goods and/or services with the various relationships that are relevant to this task. Surely, the collaborative attempt among workers themselves and between employees and management, to reformulate their various operations to meet production goals (and in the process to gain personal satisfactions) is such a primary function.

Community relations, the second factor cited above, falls much more into the supplementary usage category. Ordinarily, the business sector is not expected, as a primary function, to help solve community problems when it can be maintained that other institutions have this as a central responsibility.

There is a third category of needs that can be responded to at the workplace. These are the personal needs of employees that have their focus not at the workplace, but in the private realm of their homes of communities of interest. To the extent that the workplace can be utilized to assist employees function more effectively in these roles, the usage of the workplace must surely be considered as supplementary.

The danger of categorization, including this one, is that one begins to see phenomena in neatly separated cubby holes. In truth, the categories often overlap, particularly so when we speak of human behavior. Human needs are only rarely, if ever, satisfied by only one exclusive activity.

How then, can we best think of the various need categories that a person may have and how these needs are responded to at work, at home, in the community, and so forth? More specifically, how can we think about those human needs that can be responded to through supplementary uses of the workplace? Perhaps it would be useful to cite a brief example. Juanita Gonzales from Puerto Rico, as we shall call her, is an unskilled production worker in a New Jersey factory. (Her case is described more fully in Chapter IV.) Mrs. Gonzales has an insecure job, a repetitive and boring task to do, two teen age sons, one of whom is in trouble in school, and a husband from whom she is separated, but who has not paid for the support of their children.

In an abbreviated fashion, some of Mrs. Gonzales' unmet needs are the following: a) increased income, b) stable job, c) meaningful work, d) legal assistance to help obtain support payments from her former husband, and e) guidance to help her boys. What are the potential sources of help for Mrs. Gonzales?

In order to increase her income, Mrs. Gonzales (<u>if</u> she has the motivation, persistency, and skill), can approach the boss and inquire about higher wages, a change to a more responsible position, or the possibility of training for a better paying position in due time, and/or attempt to help form a union and/or ask the union organizer for additional work sources for moonlighting and/or consult the Puerto Rican community agency with which she is in frequent contact and/or approach a governmental agency for food stamps increasing her purchasing power and/or ask the school system to help her complete high school equivalency courses which, in turn, may help her obtain a better position.

Mrs. Gonzales can also make similar representations to help meet other need categories. For example, in order to obtain child support payments from the father, she might approach the company lawyer for help and/or get the legal assistance from the union and/or receive counseling and referral assistance from the community agency and/or go directly to the neighborhood legal service agency.

Schematically, this process of gaining assistance from several sources might be diagrammed in the following manner. The dots on the chart indicate possible sources of help for Mrs. Gonzales <u>if</u> she makes a concerted and insistent effort to demand such help and <u>if</u> these sources are, in fact, capable of giving her the services she wants and/or needs.

Description of need	Possible sources of assistance								Elapsed time between diagnosis and resolution
	Workplace (primary) - management personnel, training	Workplace (supplemental) - management information and referral services	Workplace (primary) - union formation, union representation for workers	Workplace (supplemental) - union services	Private Community agency - referral, information, social activities, counseling	Public agency - food stamps, information re. training	Schools	Legal services	
Increased income	o		o	o	o	o	o		18 months
Stable job	o		o		o	o		o	6 months
Meaningful work .task	o	o	o						12 months
Legal assistance		o		o	o			o	6 months
Child guidance		o		o	o		o	o	3 months

What should become immediately apparent is the cumbersome nature in which this system moves; the considerable time-spans that intervene between a diagnosis of an issue so that the individual is able to even seek help, and the delivery of services and resolution of the problem; the fact that one source of assistance can work on several but not all needs; the central role of the private community agency whom Mrs. Gonzales trusts and where she spends considerable time; the potential services at or through the workplace.

Needless to say, not all employees have needs that are as severe as those faced by Mrs. Gonzales. Mr. Smith, for example, may need assistance with his income tax preparation and help in diagnosing a minor skin irritation; issues that are much more easily resolved. Mr. Smith needs information, not a counseling service. For Mrs. Gonzales and others with social problems, however, the needs manifestation--needs resolution continuum is rarely a straight linear proposition where one particular need is completely resolved by one particular service. Needs and their solutions are frequently entwined in whole clusters and both the need cluster and solution cluster feed upon one another.

When we speak of service provision in the coming chapters, then, it will be important to look at them in full cognizance of their limitations. Just because a service exists, does not mean that it will be utilized and if it should be utilized, it does not necessarily mean that the problem is resolved or that other problems won't continue to plague the individual. Putting this in a more positive context, needs and services depend a great deal on a process that can help people holistically, particularly if the problem areas are as complex as those faced by Mrs. Gonzales.

On the other hand, Mr. Smith's needs--if, indeed, they are limited to information about tax regulations and diagnosis of a health ailment--can be resolved relatively easily through information or referral at the workplace. The service being provided need not be terribly complex or sophisticated since, presumably, Mr. Smith needs information and can cope with both the data he thus receives and the problem to which he applies them.

The above is not to suggest that the workplace ought to be a vehicle for services pertaining only to Mr. Smith and not to Mrs. Gonzales merely on the basis of expediency and ease of service delivery. Nor do we suggest that Mr. Smith's needs are necessarily ones to be satisfied at the workplace. We wish to underscore the obvious point that different magnitudes of problems require different magnitudes of responses.

4. Additional limitations of service provision

Services, like any other attempts at human betterment, have limitations that should be explicated. We have already discussed some of the operational problems that can be encountered in solving complex personal problems. There are, in addition, broader issues about which one should be aware when considering workplace services. Here are some of these considerations:

a) The availability of services at the workplace does not necessarily make the work task more appealing. Herzberg (1966) is among those who have

indicated that job satisfaction is not necessarily improved if some of the obstacles to job dissatisfaction have been removed. Just because Mr. Smith has his tax information does not mean that he will find new meaning and excitement in his white or blue collar work. Mr. Smith is more likely to be satisfied by his job if some of the basic motivational factors are met at the workplace which, according to Herzberg, include achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement.

b) Availability of services will probably not appreciably change some of the basic imbalances in rewards for work and income distribution. Services can help, of course, in providing incremental assistance to a person's pocketbook through encouraging savings or cutting down expenditures for goods and services that otherwise would have to be purchased at a high premium. But services, as we use the term here, cannot be expected to tackle some of the more basic tasks that might assist the employee in the context of his status in the economy. Services, by themselves, will not bring about full employment, which many believe to be a key prerequisite to any viable war on poverty. Services do not necessarily bring about unionization, which may be essential to achieve economic upward mobility of a broad sector of the laborforce; quite on the contrary, it may be argued that service provision by management may sometimes be used to prevent unionization. And services do not usually address themselves to making sheltered jobs out of non-sheltered ones. Services, thus, represent only one limited factor in improving the welfare of employees.

c) Finally, services may be misused for ulterior motives against the best interests of employees. As already indicated, services may be none-too-subtle means to help keep the union out. The costs to management of providing selected services may be much smaller than the costs of collective bargaining with a union. Even without an anti-union stance, the provision of services may be viewed by some as cooling down employees who otherwise would desire or agitate for changes in working conditions and procedures.

These and other factors have to be taken into consideration when discussing the broader context in which to view services at the workplace. We are not saying, of course, that these limitations apply to all categories of services all the time. (We shall have more to say at a later point in this report about motivations for providing services.) But the thoughtful student of services cannot talk only about the potential advantages of services while ignoring their potential limitations or even deliberate misuse.

C. The Methodology

1. An exploratory, policy oriented endeavor

This is an exploratory study. As the lead-questions indicate, we were asked to engage in essentially a two-pronged project. a) Our first assignment was to see what non-work related services are presently being discharged at or through the workplace on the basis of some exploratory, empirical findings. b) The second task concerned the preparation of

recommendations about new activities or programs that might be undertaken, particularly those that the U. S. Department of Labor might be able to encourage.

It was not too dissimilar an assignment that we had performed for other agencies, among them a foundation and another Federal department (Spiegel, 1960; Spiegel and Mittenthal, 1968). In both of these previous experiences we conducted site visits and interviews, brought our professional knowledge about the subject area to temper these observations and interviews, and finally, drew up recommendations. The present effort follows the same schema. All three studies, it might be added, were conducted under tremendous time constraints.

We realized that our study, because of the time and financial constraints, could concentrate on either of two thrusts, but probably not both. Even before applying for the study we realized it could either represent a carefully constructed survey about present services that would be statistically significant and represent a large sample and then draw conclusions from this survey or, we could attempt a broader gauged effort which would conduct a more modest empirical survey with a smaller and far less reliable sample, but that would include a wider variety of data sources and more care in preparing and discussing policy oriented recommendations. We chose the latter over the former. We did not follow the usual academic pattern of description and analysis about one highly restricted area of competence with hesitant prescriptions at the very end of the study. We traded an accurate but confining analytical view, for a broader, exploratory approach that contains, admittedly, its share of "soft" data.

2. The plan for the chapters

The plan for the report is easily discernible from the table of contents. After the Introduction where we discuss the issue to be treated, we take a look at the empirical data discovered through our survey. Chapter II contains an overview of our conclusions and of the survey. Chapter III is a detailed description of each service category. While most of this chapter is based on the survey, we add selected items in the narrative supplementation from other sources such as expert interviews or readings. Chapter IV represents five case descriptions. Here our attempt is to see how a series of services at given workplaces play themselves out in the broader context of the community, the union, management, and service providers. In Chapter V entitled "The Service That Almost Wasn't" we describe a number of services that are conspicuous by their absence or low incidence. In a report of this kind, it is not only important to speculate why something works, but, on the contrary, why some services are apparently resisted. Chapter VI deals with the organizational arrangements for services and also contains suggestions for programs that can be launched, usually on a trial or experimental basis. In other words, the report moves from the presentation of concrete evidence, to an analysis and discussion of the issues, and finally to a set of recommendations for action.

The report utilizes three forms of conclusions and/or recommendations. Throughout the first five chapters, there are propositions which represent hunches, hypotheses, and generalizations. In a more scholarly work, these might be called conclusions. These propositions make a statement about a

generalization suggested by the data that appears warranted and that may be suggestive to both the practitioner and the scholar in the field. Also sprinkled throughout the chapters are activity recommendations which represent limited, specific suggestions worthy of testing or demonstrating. Such recommendations are relatively narrow and are presented as activities that should be undertaken, but do not fit into the category of a program.

Program recommendations are concentrated in the last chapter. Here we describe a cluster of activities representing a major new thrust. In each instance we will point out what the objectives of the proposed program are, cite its activities and procedures and suggest a method by which it might be tested.

3. Gathering primary data

a) The field interviews. During the little more than one year duration of the project, if we did anything, we had to go out into the field and see and talk with people at worksites. We needed to "have the smell of greasepaint in our nostrils," and avoid at all costs, an exclusive arm-chair or library perspective. Consequently all members of the project team went into the field, observed, and/or conducted interviews.

We selected 23 workplaces to interview. These sites were chosen on the basis of representing different geographical locations within our prime target area of the New Jersey--Westchester County (N.Y.) suburban ring around New York City; of having a mix of union and non-union organization; of being of different sizes and type of activity; of having the reputation (gleaned from our talks with experts familiar with our topic of interest) of providing a high degree of services. The 23 workplaces thus created were deliberately skewed to emphasize those with high service reputations. As it turned out, fully one third of these workplaces were judged to have a low service provision index.

There was one more criterion that determined whether a workplace would be included among the 23. It was the expediency factor of us being able to talk to both management and labor. This factor was more difficult than we had anticipated. We felt that it would be fairly easy to gain entry to the executive suite for permission to interview two management persons of whom at least one should be intimately acquainted with the provision of services. If a union existed, we would go to it and ask to speak to at least three employees, at least one of whom was a working union functionary, such as a union steward. If the firm was unorganized, we hoped that management would permit us to choose three employees from the employee roster.

We met considerable resistance, particularly from management. We usually would call an official of the workplace to whom we had some connection. This call would be followed up with a letter spelling out the nature and sponsorship of the project, the limited time that interviewing would consume, the fact that workplaces would be fictionalized and statements made could not be attributed to any identifiable individual. Finally, the letter would suggest a date for interviewing. In the case of a number of larger firms, we were told that the request would have to go to central headquarters for clearance. On a number of occasions the request for interviews was

turned down on the phone while offering to send us literature on services or offering to have us talk to the personnel director, but to no one else. (We felt that an interview with but one official was simply not sufficient to include it in our sample; not even in the case of one large firm that had an excellent service reputation and consequently sent a top personnel officer to our offices for a three hour interview.)

Whenever management or labor seemed to resist our entry for conducting interviews we would not pursue the issue further, except in two occasions. In both instances we had excellent cooperation from management for giving us its data, but none for helping us to obtain information from the unorganized employees. Alternative arrangements proved successful with employees, and interviews were held.

Whenever feasible we tried to obtain 5 interviews per workplace; two with management and three with employees. There were variations in the number of persons we were able to interview, but in the aggregate 125 interviews were conducted in 23 workplaces. Fifty-four of these interviews were with management while 71 were with other employees.

The interviews were conducted by the project staff who followed a flexible interview schedule. After gathering information about the workplace, 14 open ended questions would be posed to interviewees, whether management or labor. (Questions posed included "What services are offered to employees? Can you give an example?" "How is this financed? Who pays? What's the form of payment?" "Are there any services that have been requested but not provided? Why?" "Are workers satisfied with the services provided?") As a means of eliciting information about any additional services the respondent might have missed itemizing, each interviewee would then be told about the eight service categories we had constructed (such as "Recreation and Entertainment" or "Community Service") and asked to make any additions. In this manner the interviewers could assemble a considerable list of services (totaling 615 different citations for 23 workplaces).

What were some of the characteristics of the 23 workplaces? Nine workplaces were located in New Jersey and 8 in Westchester County, New York, which is the county directly north of New York City and represents a continuation of the eastern and northern suburban ring upon which we were concentrating. These 17 workplaces were close by and could be reached within an hour's car ride. For our "away" worksites we chose two in an industrial city in upstate New York, three in a medium size city in Michigan, and one in a small city in Indiana. These six "away" workplaces all had excellent reputations for service delivery; at least two of them would probably be considered as national leaders in service provision by most experts.

Twelve of the 23 workplaces were in the goods producing or manufacturing sector of the economy, while 11 were in the non-goods producing or service sector. The latter category included 7 enterprises that were corporations and 4 that were governmental entities (2 county governments, 1 town government, and 1 school district). Among the non-governmental workplaces was a publisher, 3 public utilities (in one of which we selected both the headquarters and a field operation), 2 corporate headquarters of large multi-plant firms (in the food processing and photographic industries), a trucking concern, a manufacturer of data processing machinery, a large and a

small producer of electrical equipment, a bank, a chemical firm, 3 firms producing machinery or machinery accessories, an educational service group, and a corporate research and training facility. Finally there was an atypical workplace represented by a trade union local of a large manufacturing plant where we looked at the services provided not by management, but by the union.

The size of the workforce was determined by employees working at the specific installation, not by the total number employed by the enterprise on a regional, national, or even international basis. If the number of employees was under 249, the workplace would be classified as "small"; if there were between 250 and 999 employees, it would be "medium"; and if it was larger than 1,000 the workplace size would be classified as "large." By this measure only 4 workplaces fell into the "small" category, 4 were "medium," and the majority of 15 were "large." Workforce size ranged from a low of 75 employees to a high of 12,000.

Fourteen workplaces were unionized, 9 were not. Eleven workplaces had 55% or more male employees; 7 had 55% or more female workers; and 2 workforces were evenly split between male and female. In 2 additional cases the precise data concerning sex could not be elicited.

These workplaces represent a considerable range of employment. Admittedly, our sample probably is not as representative a selection as might have been achieved with more refined criteria. For one thing, small and medium size workplaces are under-represented and the manufacturing sector over-represented. Geographically, our original intention was to select workplaces falling within growth, stable, and declining areas; we finally abandoned this effort because of the difficulty of matching workplace location with worker residence and also because of problems in selecting a number of workplaces in each category that were large enough to be statistically significant. Thus, our selection probably over-emphasizes the suburban ring of large metropolitan areas without paying enough attention to either central city locations and relatively isolated non-metropolitan urban places. But the strongest bias running through our workplace selection probably is our attempt, only partially successful as previously mentioned, to choose enterprises that had reputations for relatively high service provisions.

b) The sub-survey of Puerto Rican workers. While most of our data was being gathered concerning workplaces that were likely to be on the medium or high end of the service provision spectrum, we wanted to take a brief look at the other end of this spectrum. We found it amongst Puerto Rican workers in New Jersey.

As will be explained in further detail in Chapter IV, a Puerto Rican interviewer questioned 22 employees working at 8 workplaces. None of these workplaces, most of which were small, were covered in our main survey.

c) Expert and service provider interviews. We deemed it important to speak to persons who knew much about services and who operated outside the workplaces we were surveying, but who, nevertheless had important data to impart about them. Our respondents were either "experts" about services at workplaces or "community service providers" who had services to offer

that were actually, or could potentially be utilized at workplaces.

Most of these interviews were conducted in the offices of the respondents. In the case of expert interviews, they would be recorded in Work Memoranda (to be explained in the next section). When community service-providers were questioned in relation to a specific workplace, this information was recorded in the respective workplace folders.

The interviewees are listed below in alphabetical order.

Morris Basden, Manpower Director, Union County (N.J.) Anti-Poverty Agency
Samuel Bea, Manpower Director, Urban League of Westchester County (N.Y.)
Alice Booth, Assistant Director, Volunteer Service Bureau of Westchester, Inc.
Thomas Cogan, National Reading Center, Washington, D.C.
Edward Croft, Director, Rochester Jobs, Incorporated
Nelson Foote, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Hunter College, formerly General Electric Corporation official
Edward Fox, Executive Director, Union County (N.J.) Chamber of Commerce
Louis Gary, Deputy Director, Comprehensive Health Planning Agency, New York, N.Y.
William Gellerman, organizational development consultant, New York, N.Y.
Morris Grant, Regional Director, National Center for Voluntary Action
Lois Gray, Assistant Dean, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University
Bertram Gross, Distinguished Professor of Urban Affairs and Planning, Hunter College, formerly official of Council of Economic Advisors
James Guyot, Director of Personnel Research, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey
John Haack, President, Civil Service Employees Association, Westchester County
Gertrude Heinrich, Vice President, League of Women Voters, New York, N.Y.
Frank Huntington, Executive Director, Wall Street Center, Inc.
Emory Jackson, Director, OJT Program, National Urban League
Robert Jacobi, Manager, Employee Benefits, IBM Corporate Headquarters
Joel Jacobson, Regional Representative, United Automobile Workers, Cranford, N.J.
Kenneth Lein, Assistant Director, OJT Program, National Urban League
Casto Maldonado, Director, Puerto Rican Congress, Trenton, N.J.
David G. Moore, Executive Vice President, The Conference Board, New York, N.Y.
Margaret Moritz, Executive Director, Volunteer Service Bureau of Westchester, Inc.
John Mulvihill, Director of Public Relations, Mount Carmel Guild, Newark, N.J.
Joseph O'Connor, Field Representative, Civil Service Employees Association, Westchester County
Sister Patricia, Director, Joseph Avenue Boys Workshop, Rochester
George Peabody, organizational development consultant, New York, N.Y.
Vernon Potter, Deputy Director, New Jersey Division on Civil Rights, Newark, N.J.
William Priester, Director, Rochester Business Opportunities, Inc.
Salvatore Quasanta, Director, White Plains (N.Y.) Chamber of Commerce

Paul Rosenkrantz, Professor of Psychology, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.
James Stagnolia, Employment Chief, New Jersey Division on Civil Rights
Brendan Sexton, Professor, New York University, formerly UAW official
Richard VanFleet, Executive Director, Westchester County (N.Y.) Urban Coalition
Beatrice Waldon, Assistant Director of Training, Rochester (N.Y.) Urban League
William H. Whyte, writer on organizational and urban affairs, New York, N.Y.

d) Small conferences. On three occasions we brought together small groups of persons to discuss the project, contribute additional data and leads, and give us an opportunity to raise pertinent questions. These meetings were held in Newark, New Jersey; White Plains, Westchester County, New York; and in our office in New York City. In each instance representatives of labor, management, and community service providers were present. For the most part, we had already interviewed these participants; therefore, some of the persons cited in the preceding list will appear again. The participants included, in addition to our own staff:

David Benedict, APA Transport, North Bergen, N.J.
Henry Boardman, Western Electric Co., Kearny, N.J.
Samuel M. Convissor, Director of Urban Affairs and Community Relations, R.C.A.
Norman Falk, Vice President - Marketing, Holophane, Inc., Montvale, N.J.
Dr. William Gellerman, organizational development consultant, New York, N.Y.
Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, New York, N.Y.
Morris Grant, Regional Director, National Center for Voluntary Action, New York, N.Y.
John Haack, President, Civil Service Employees Association, Westchester County, N.Y.
John K. Harris, consultant, Washington, D.C.
Kenneth Howard, Director of Urban Affairs, Eastman Kodak, Rochester, N.Y.
William Howes, Executive Vice President, YMCA of Greater New York
Joel Jacobson, UAW Regional Representative, Cranford, N.J.
Betty Lall, Director, Union-University Urban Affairs Program, New York State School for Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University
Casto Maldonado, Puerto Rican Congress, N.J., Trenton, N.J.
Margaret Moritz, Executive Director, Volunteer Service Bureau of Westchester, Inc.
Stanley Moses, Assistant Professor of Urban Affairs, Hunter College
Joseph O'Connor, Field Representative, Civil Service Employees Association
Robert Schrank, Project Specialist, Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
John Shields, Local 595, United Automobile Workers, Linden, N.J.
John Temple, Personnel Director, Readers Digest, Pleasantville, N.Y.
Michael Tuosto, Public Service of New Jersey, Newark, N.J.
Franklin Wallick, Editor, UAW Washington Report, Washington, D.C.
Patricia Wynn, Bureau of the Budget, City of New York
Roslyn Yasser, Social Services, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, New York

In summary, the following number of persons were interviewed by us or took part in small conferences:

Field interviews	125
Sub-survey of Puerto Rican workers	22
Expert and service provider interviews	35
Small conference participants	24
Total respondent contacts	205

As mentioned earlier, some of the interviewees were counted in two categories since a few were both interviewed in the field and attended a small conference. It is safe to say, however, that slightly under 200 different persons had a direct role in giving information for this study.

4. Gathering secondary data

Within a one-year study we could, of course, not observe first hand as many workplaces as we would have liked. We had to utilize the experiences of others in other than face-to-face sessions. As cited below, we used a number of approaches to learn as much as we could about specific aspects of the topic under study that particularly intrigued us.

a) The commissioned papers. From the very start we wanted to have a base-line paper concerning the changing nature of the workforce and of work itself vis-à-vis services. Our colleague, Professor Stanley Moses, a political scientist who is also a manpower specialist, was willing to undertake this task. His paper is referred to in the text of this report and is listed in the Appendix. But Professor Moses did not only contribute through the written word. He provided valuable criticism at a number of points in our project.

After discovering a human relations counselor in one of our workplaces (see Chapter V for a detailed description) we began to re-evaluate our initial assessment of the value of industrial counseling. We had many questions about the value and ethicacy of personal counseling at the workplace and wanted an independent assessment of the possibility of industrial counseling. Professor Paul Rosenkrantz appeared to be the most appropriate choice for this task. Professor Rosenkrantz is a clinical and social psychologist, presently Professor of Psychology at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Mass., where he also engages in the practice of clinical psychology. For many years, Professor Rosenkrantz was a production worker and an active unionist. Several of the thoughts contained in his paper "Notes on Industrial Counseling Service with Special Emphasis on 'Blue Collar' Workers" have been incorporated in one of our program recommendations of Chapter VI.

Roger Mills, of the University of Michigan, has a Ph.D. fresh on his brow at this writing. An urban planner, he has done much work with housing corporations, consumer cooperatives, and other enterprises. He is an experienced interviewer, and we were lucky to find him in the hiatus between the completion of a doctoral dissertation and the final award of the degree. He agreed to study three workplaces in Michigan that are part of an inter-industry consortium providing services. It was a unique venture, and we wanted more information. After Dr. Mills submitted his first report, largely based on interviews with management and only selected employees, we

were sufficiently intrigued to ask him to return to these work sites to question more workers. The results of his efforts, considerably shortened and edited on our part, represents one of the cases in Chapter IV.

Michael Smith is the Coordinator of the Community Design Center of the University of Colorado. The experiences of his team in providing much needed services in a working-poor neighborhood of a Rocky Mountain city fascinated us. Here was an outside, educational, tax supported institution that was proceeding with great imagination to help workers residing in the very shadows of in-town industries. Here was still another model for service delivery that we wanted to know about. Special thanks are due Mr. Smith for submitting his description within three weeks of our request.

b) Literature utilized. We are professionally involved in community development and planning. Though experienced in some aspects of manpower development, we cannot consider ourselves experts in industrial relations, personnel, industrial psychology, labor, or industrial sociology. One of the ways in which we tried to make up for this lack of direct academic involvement in these areas was through readings as reflected in the bibliography. We were also assisted by the Labor Department's staff which sent us pertinent reprints and made reports available to us. A better grantee-grantor relationship would be hard to imagine.

c) The lawyer's search. We were aware of legal problems that may be faced in using the workplace for potentially controversial purposes, such as political education. We received valued assistance from a prominent Park Avenue law firm that prefers to remain anonymous but volunteered to perform legal research for us. The broker bringing us together was the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. We are most grateful to both the law firm and the Lawyers' Committee for their important contributions.

5. Internal Procedures

a) The staff conducting the study listed in the Appendix, included two professors from the Department of Urban Affairs at Hunter College, two instructors, two graduate students, and one secretary. Except for the secretary, no staff member spent full time on this project. Again except for the secretary, the members of the staff were professionally involved in urban affairs and planning. There were no arm-chair members of the staff; all of us conducted interviews in the field and attended small conferences.

b) Staff meetings. Every second week the entire staff gathered to assess its progress and discuss items that were previously designated. During the latter part of the project, particularly during early summer of 1973, staff meetings were held several times a week. Smaller meetings between two or more staff members occurred, of course, rather frequently.

c) Work memoranda. Whenever a staff member wished to write a substantive essay, or record a particularly pregnant expert interview, or document an important consensus at a staff meeting, he or she was encouraged to write a work memorandum. A total of 43 such work memoranda were prepared with such titles as "The Segmented Economy and Service Provision," "Sketch of an Industrial Counselor," "I Hate Ford, But Love Going to Work," "Interim Progress Report," and "Who Controls Services?"

II. OVERVIEW OF STUDY CONCLUSIONS AND SURVEY RESULTS

This chapter summarizes the propositions and recommendations that emerged from the entire study, and the highlights of our survey of 23 workplaces. The remaining chapters will deal with these items in detail.

A. Overview of Propositions and Recommendations

One of the most difficult questions to be posed to any preacher or professor was put to us by a friend who had read part of this manuscript. "If you were forced to give a one sentence conclusion from all this," he asked pointing to scores of pages, "what would you say?" After pondering the question for a moment, we offered a long sentence to this effect: The workplace is an underutilized and potentially potent point for the discharge of services; if more than token services are to be made available at the workplace, employees themselves must participate actively in the planning and conduct of carefully designed, and adequately funded, service programs.

The title of this study suggests that the workplace is not for work alone. Nor should it be. As is indicated in the last chapter, we have become convinced in the course of our study that the workplace among other things, is "a unique and important site where employees can and should be informed about non-work related services and where actual diagnosis of selected needs and delivery of selected services can take place." With over 80 million Americans gainfully employed, the potential outreach capacity of workplace services is considerable. What kind of services are uniquely suited to the workplace? And who should be responsible for organizing and delivering them? The report makes some concrete recommendations about these issues, but there is an underlying and fundamental theme that pervades our response to both these questions: employees can and should be centrally involved in decisions concerning workplace services. Our conclusions stress this participatory theme and suggest programs and organizational arrangements that can maximize viable employee involvement.

As the reader will soon discover, the above formulation is an overly generalized short-hand for thoughts that are more fully described, qualified, and analyzed in the body of the report. If there must be a capsulated summary at the very tip of the iceberg, however, let it be the above.

Descending the iceberg a foot or two we find three layers of concluding thoughts. One is represented by a summary of propositions which are interspersed throughout the report and which, it will be recalled from Chapter I, represent hunches, hypotheses and generalizations suggested by the data. They are put into a narrative context below for easier reading. The second layer are program recommendations which are suggested major new thrusts for the delivery of services at or through the workplace. The third layer are activity recommendations which deal with more narrowly conceived specific suggestions worthy of testing or demonstrating. First, let us summarize the propositions.

1. Summary of propositions

There appears to be considerable discrepancy among workplaces in terms of numbers of services provided (Proposition #2). Some workplaces offer a wide variety of services while others barely exceed a minimal threshold. Between these two extremes stretches a continuum of workplaces offering an unequal number of services. When comparing the workplaces that offer many services with those that offer only a few, it appears that the incidence of service provision is higher in the non-union workplace, particularly in the large non-union workplace, than in the unionized work setting (Proposition #3). A possible explanation for this trend may reside in the motivation on the part of management (we deal with union-provided services at other points in the report) for providing services. It appears that one of the factors motivating some managements to institute and sustain services is the retention of a satisfied and non-unionized workforce (Proposition #5).

As presently constituted, most nonwork related services seem to be viewed as desirable confectionery. Most employees and employers appear to view existing services as rather low order priorities in conducting their affairs (Proposition #18). Workers and managers alike, tend to view work-related issues such as wages and workplace conditions as higher priorities. Non-work related services tend to be secondary sources of enhancing self actualization as compared with the job activity at the workplace (Proposition #11). With primary sources for job satisfaction being sought elsewhere, it may be understandable that Services . . . seem to float in relative isolation with few managers or employees aware of the whole range . . . available (Proposition #20).

It should not come as any surprise that Services discharged at or through the workplace tend to represent relatively "safe" and relatively simple services that can be mounted on an in-house basis (Proposition #17). Such services appear favored over complex and many faceted programs. It follows that As corporations or unions initiate major services that are potentially controversial in nature and represent complexities and risks in their administration, there appears to be a corresponding tendency to manage these services with a relatively high degree of control . . . (Proposition #22).

One of the most disturbing findings of the report is that marginal firms lacking capital and resources, which often employ persons who need services most, are precisely those that tend to skimp on making services available. The most discernible lack of service provision appears to be in small establishments (Proposition #19). To be sure, even marginal firms have some services such as dispensers for food, a public telephone, a bulletin board, etc.--but even these were minimized in some workplaces visited. There appears, then, to be a minimal threshold of service provision below which a workplace is unlikely to fall (Proposition #1). Furthermore, whether formal services are available or not, informal arrangements for limited services are developed, particularly Informal exchanges of information at the workplace appear extensive between employee and employee (Proposition #16). The kind of informal services thus developed between one employee and another tend to be related to the job assignments they perform and the concomitant skills they reportedly possess (Proposition #10).

Finally, a number of propositions highlight service areas that appear to be particularly underdeveloped. There seem to be hardly any programs of comprehensive assessment of needs or problems . . . (Proposition #12). Nor are there many depth-probing programs in political and public affairs and when they exist, they are approached with considerable caution by most managements (Proposition #8). Furthermore, the provision of workplace amenities for non-work related needs . . . appears to be viewed as a low order of priority (Proposition #9). Somewhat surprisingly, information about services, whether available at the workplace or in the community seems considerably limited. Few personnel directors, managers, or employees appear aware of the range and scope of non-work related services offered by or through their company (Proposition #14). Information seems to be especially lacking concerning political education, consumer affairs, health, and family planning . . . (Proposition #15). There also seems to be only limited linkage between public or private social service agencies and workplaces (Proposition #13). One service category in which there is a pronounced bi-modal discrepancy in service delivery is community service (which) can be seen as a watershed category in which some firms and unions participate rather actively and many others are conspicuous by their absence (Proposition #6). Most of these underdeveloped service categories become the object of program recommendations, to be described below.

2. Program recommendations

Program recommendations can only be understood if their rationale is considered. Considerable space is devoted in the last chapter in justifying and detailing these recommendations. The reader is referred, therefore, to this chapter, particularly to its early pages where criteria for the selection and organization of service programs are cited. As it is, what follows are merely the abbreviated program recommendations which stand alone in a barren landscape without context.

-- A survey, to be followed by an information program, should be undertaken about Negotiated Services and Benefits. The survey would detail what services and benefits have, in fact, been negotiated and what programs have consequently been initiated with what results. (Program Recommendation #1)

-- Three demonstration projects should be launched to test the feasibility of initiating Employees' Service Cooperatives which are user-oriented and user-controlled multi-service organizations operating at one or a cluster of workplaces. These Employees' Services Cooperatives resemble credit unions and represent an extension of the credit union model to other areas of services. (Program Recommendation #2)

-- Demonstration funds should be made available to launch experimental Needs Assessment Programs at a variety of workplaces. Between four and six workplaces should be asked to create programs that develop employee-based needs data that will lend themselves to the planning of services. Unions, management, and/or third parties can participate in this effort. (Program Recommendation #3)

-- A three-stage project concerning industrial counseling should be undertaken, with special attention to non-work related problems of employees. The project should deal with data gathering about current practices in industrial counseling and demonstrations of innovative counseling models at a limited number of divergent workplaces. (Program Recommendation #4)

-- Deliberate efforts should go forward at a minimum of two workplaces to meld legal services on the one hand and general information-giving and counseling, on the other. (Program Recommendation #5)

-- Two or three educational Consortia should be experimentally established, preferably within the framework of an Employees' Services Cooperative, to plan, manage, and deliver a variety of educational services at and through several workplaces. These experimental Consortia should serve a given geographical area, probably a metropolitan area, or a specially designated group of industries. . . . The aim of the educational Consortia would be to permit and encourage individual employees to acquire, to the maximum degree practicable, educational competencies, understandings, and credentials that are consistent with their own desires and capacities. (Program Recommendation #6)

-- A demonstration program should be launched by union groups to assist several blue collar neighborhoods to organize themselves for purposes of solving local problems. Such local organizations, possibly called community unions, would help to catalyze a neighborhood into self-help action by adapting trade union principles to community development. (Program Recommendation #7)

3. Activity recommendations

We are listing below activity recommendations as they appear throughout the report. They represent, it will be remembered, concrete and specific activities that should be undertaken, but they do not represent a major new programmatic thrust. They tend to be somewhat eclectic recommendations for further study especially when read outside of their context in the body of the report.

-- Research should determine the correlation, if any, of the quantity and nature of service provision and the size of the workforce. (Activity Recommendation #1)

-- The quantity and nature of service provision at governmental workplaces should be studied and correlated with type of governmental level, degree of unionization within these units, and size of governmental workplace. (Activity Recommendation #2)

-- The nature and quantity of service provision at unionized workplaces should be compared with those at non-unionized workplaces, holding constant such factors as workplace size, location of workplace inside or outside the inner city, and industry type. (Activity Recommendation #3)

-- There appears to be a correlation between architectural forms provided to facilitate personal usage at the workplace and the ease of

interpersonal relationships among employees in these settings. This hypothesis should be tested in such spaces as lounges, corridors, auditoriums, plazas, meeting rooms, cafeterias, and libraries. (Activity Recommendation #4)

-- A study should be conducted comparing two alternative organizational modes of non-work related service delivery with special emphasis on health, housing and transportation services, to a demonstrably poverty-ridden ethnic group. One mode of service delivery should be the traditional community service agency that cuts across ethnicity, and the other representing a consciously ethnic oriented group. (Activity Recommendation #5)

-- A thorough study should be conducted to gain reliable information about unmet needs and potential service requirements at or through small, marginal workplaces employing a sizable minority population. (Activity Recommendation #6)

-- The eighty existing educational Consortia should be questioned about workplace related educational activities presently conducted or anticipated. (Activity Recommendation #7)

-- The numerous proposals for establishing and funding educational programs that can reach a wide adult constituency, including employees at the workplace, should be assembled in one document, and should be codified, critically reviewed and analyzed, and discussed by appropriate groups. (Activity Recommendation #8)

-- In at least two divergent workplaces, employees should explore the feasibility of strengthening and systematizing self-help services between employees. (Activity Recommendation #9)

-- Civil service commissions and public administration groups, on the one hand, and government employee groups, on the other, should separately consider the issue of possible affirmative action programs concerning workplace services, before meeting jointly on the subject. (Activity Recommendation #10)

-- One or more aggregates of small enterprises should be helped to plan and operationalize an industrial consortium that provides shared utilization of a wide variety of business support services and non-work related social services. (Activity Recommendation #11)

-- Various educational units that have been involved in workplace activities should gather within the framework of one institution (or several area-wide institutions or on an inter-professional basis nationally) to explore, together with labor and management representatives, new integrated programs that will enhance workplace services. (Activity Recommendation #12)

B. Overview of Survey

Our survey of 23 workplaces was able to locate 615 different instances of specific services that were available to employees. We classified these services into 8 service categories such as education, community service, and individual and family assistance. Each of these categories will be defined and described in detail in Chapter III where we also cite sub-categories and concrete examples. The purpose of the present chapter, however, is to see the forest rather than the trees. We wish to deal with the survey data in broad brush strokes and discover what themes and patterns appear to emerge from such an examination.

The one caveat we need to repeat about our data is that the numbers are small. Furthermore, our sample of 23 workplaces is not representative of all the factories, stores, offices and farms where Americans work. Therefore, due care must be taken not to attribute too much finality to the generalizations drawn from these data.

1. Service frequency

The first table, below, indicates an aggregate count of services observed and the number of workplaces where the service was observed at least once. No attempt is made at this point to differentiate the type of service in each category, its use by employees, or for that matter, its efficacy in resolving problems.

	Number of services observed, N=615	Number of workplaces where service is represented, N=23
Recreation and entertainment	109	23
Community service	86	21
Workplace amenities	131	23
Self actualization	16	9
Individual and family assistance	81	23
Education	47	18
Information and exchange	71	23
Non-work related economic enhancement	74	23

This table suggests the relative availability quotient of several types of services. It points out, for example, that "workplace amenities" leads the list. This includes cafeterias, lounges, parking facilities, the informal use of office equipment, etc. It may come as no surprise that all of our 23 workplaces provide at least one of these services and, as will be seen in a minute, more likely half a dozen.

Next in line is the category of "recreation and entertainment" which includes the bowling leagues, parties, special events, skating rinks, etc. Again, all 23 workplaces offer one or more of these services, as is the case

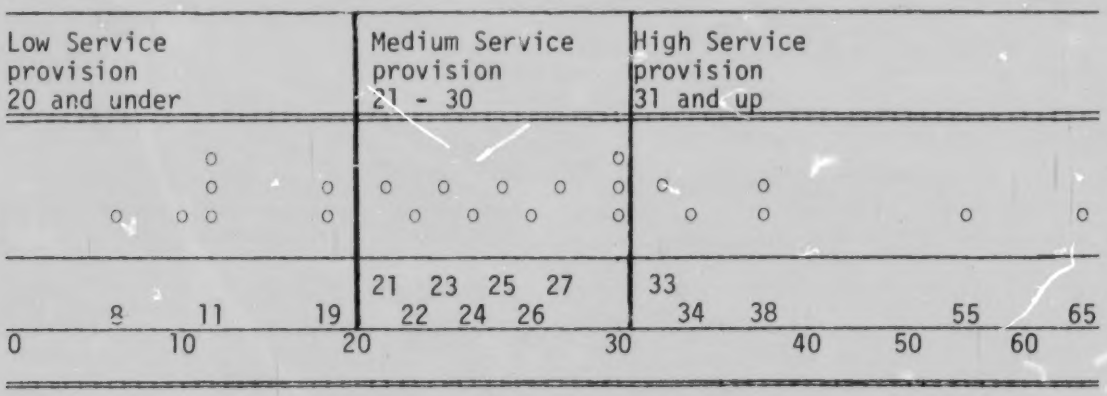
with "individual and family assistance" (blood bank, retirement counseling, referral services for personal problems, legal assistance, etc.), "information and exchange" (bulletin boards, in-house newsletters, pamphlets, etc.), and "non-work related economic enhancement" (credit union, discount buying, group vacation tours, etc.).

At the other end of the spectrum, bringing up the rear, is the category of "self actualization." (This category includes career development assistance, life goal sessions, volunteering on the job, and one instance of Bible Study sessions during the lunch period, etc.).

With the exception of the "self actualization," the casual observer might conclude that there is a remarkably even spread of services amongst our various workplaces. On the basis of this finding it might be assumed that most worksites provide essentially the same number of services. However, if we begin to look at the range of services by workplace, a different picture emerges.

2. Range of service provision by workplace

The average number of different services among the 23 workplaces comes to 26.7. But the range of the highest service providing site and the lowest spans a considerable territory, from 65 to 8. The scatter diagram below will graphically illustrate this range.


Low Service provision 20 and under
Medium Service provision 21 - 30
High Service provision 31 and up
8
11
19
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
33 34 38 55 65
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

The spread between the leaders of 65 and 55 services, respectively, on the one hand, and the laggards (8, 10 and three at 11) is remarkable. An instructor grading his students on the curve would have little difficulty assigning grades with such a constellation. It is, we think, significant, that 3 of the 5 lowest service providers are governmental units (2 county and 1 municipal governments) while the highest service providers are large manufacturing enterprises with long traditions of services. Naturally, this leads to the question whether there is a correlation between the size of workplaces and the availability of services.

3. Service provision and size of workforce

Remembering that our numbers are very small indeed, particularly for medium and small workplaces, the following classifications must be viewed with some suspicion. First of all, we arbitrarily created service provision categories of high, medium and low service provision as indicated on the scatter diagram above. In addition we created three categories of size of workforce at the different workplaces, "large" being 1,000 employees or more, "medium" 250 to 999 employees, and "small" 100 to 249. The following table results.

Workplace Size	Service Provision			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
Small	0	1	3	4
Medium	1	2	1	4
Large	5	6	4	15
Total	6	9	8	23

It would appear that there is a tendency for workplaces employing many persons to provide more services than smaller workplaces. But, as indicated, the sample is very small, and we don't consider it useful to engage in statistical treatment. The issue is, however, eminently testable which brings us to Activity Recommendation #1: Research should determine the correlation, if any, of the quantity and nature of service provision and the size of the workforce on a national basis.

If, as we suspect, the small firms lag behind the medium and large enterprises in providing services, there may well have to be different approaches to workplaces depending, among other factors, upon size. The small workplace, for example, may need to obtain special outside assistance in order to cope with the need for services of its employees. As will be indicated in Chapter IV, all of the Puerto Rican marginal workers interviewed suffered from service deficiency and all worked in small workplaces that may be hard put to deliver some of the assistance needed by employees.

4. Service provision and industry type

It was noted above that three of the lowest service providers were governmental units. There was a fourth workplace in the public non-goods producing (or service) sector and that was a school district. It, however, was ranked among the medium service providers. The first compilation on the following page gives an overview.

The low service provisions of our county and municipal governments raises troubling questions. Is this a statistical apparition? Are larger city governments with a different union constellation better service

Service Provision	Industry Type			
	Non-goods Producing	Non-goods Producing	Goods Producing	Total
	Private	Public		
High	1	0	4	5
Medium	3	1	6	10
Low	3	3	2	8
Total	7	4	12	23

providers? We suspect that parts of this topic have probably been discussed and that pertinent data are available. At any rate, we wish to indicate the following Activity Recommendation #2: The quantity and nature of service provision at governmental workplaces should be studied and correlated with type of governmental level (particularly federal, state, county, and local governmental units); degree of unionization within these units; and size of the governmental workplace.

5. Service provision and worker organization

Among the 23 workplaces studied were 14 that were unionized and 9 that were not. As the table below will indicate, there appears to be a discernible trend favoring non-union workplaces as service providers.

Worker Organization	Service Provision			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
Union	1	7	6	14
Non-Union	4	3	2	9
Total	5	10	8	23

Again, the numbers are small and the data can be misleading. But our figures suggest Activity Recommendation #3: The nature and quantity of service provision at unionized workplaces should be compared with those at non-union workplaces, holding constant such factors as workplace size, location of workplace inside or outside the inner city, and industry type.

Such a study would not only determine whether such a correlation can, in fact, be established (and under what circumstances), but also try to assess the possible reasons for such a pattern. As we shall discuss later, we received narrative information that service provision may in some instances be established to help discourage unionization of the workplace.

6. Service provision and sex of workforce

We wondered whether the sex of the laborforce influenced the extent of service provision. Apparently not, as the table below indicates.

Service Provision	Sex			
	Male	Female	Approx. equality or lack of data	Total
High	3	2	0	5
Medium	4	2	4	10
Low	4	3	1	8
Total	11	7	5	23

The next question to be raised concerns the difference, if any, in types of services between the male and female dominated workplaces. The evidence, below, appears to indicate that both types of workplaces provide about the equal number of services and that the broadly defined types of services follow a similar pattern. (The table excludes the few workplaces where there appeared sexual balance or where data provided was not conclusive.)

Service Category	Male Dominated			Female Dominated		
	Wkpl. N=12	Service Frequency	%	Wkpl. N=7	Service Frequency	%
Recreation and entertainment	12	58	17	7	28	15
Community service	12	47	14	5	29	16
Workplace amenity	12	71	21	6	39	21
Self actualization	5	9	2	3	6	3
Individual and family assistance	12	44	13	7	25	14
Education	10	32	10	4	8	4
Information and exchange	12	35	11	4	22	12
Non-work related economic enhancement	12	39	12	4	28	15
Total		335	100		185	100

As will be discussed in the next chapters, we discovered a number of activities that appealed primarily to the female workforce, such as puppet-making, cooking, and needle craft. And while we found no organized programs or sessions on female consciousness raising sponsored by either management or labor, there was one workplace in which a number of women gathered outside the office to institute a law suit claiming unequal pay for women as compared to men.

7. Motivations for service provision

Why is management motivated to offer services at or through the workplace? We tried to gain data on this subject, but are afraid that our efforts were not very consistent or, for that matter, very persistent. We did have questions in our interview schedule pertaining to the reasons for initiating services but after going through a frequently long interview that isolated many services we found that most of our intervewers did not sufficiently probe into perceived motivations. During our small conferences we raised the motivational issue again. In this setting it was discussed in more detail, but there was perhaps the inhibiting factor present of having both management and labor representatives sitting around the conference table.

Nevertheless, it is useful to point to a number of motivations for service provision that were thus elicited. No one mentioned all these factors, but all items in this collage of perceptions come from our respondents.

1. Belief that services help to attract employees, particularly in times of full employment and labor shortage. A representative of a relatively isolated workplace described, for example, that a subsidized bus system appeared to him important in attracting and retaining workers.

2. Belief that services help to improve workforce morale and/or productivity. A number of employees told us that the company "really cares for us" and that this care was evident in the services available. Management, particularly those management representatives who continue a personalized tradition of service provision initiated by the founder, reflected the same sentiment. Interestingly, not one of our respondents indicated the possibility that a given service may be counter-productive such as, for example, a company's day care center that draws mothers away from the job at many intervals to visit the near-by child.

3. Belief that not providing services will result in adverse effects for management, such as the possibility of the workforce deciding to unionize. As one management spokesman confided in us, "We don't talk about this openly, but when you take care of them (the employees), they don't want a union." The fear of potential racial disturbances was also cited as one reason for engaging in community relations activities within the central city.

4. Belief that public relations and the corporate image will improve if services are provided.

5. Belief that certain services may help meet legal requirements or voluntarily entered obligations (such as equal employment opportunities and affirmative action).

6. The service may have had its origin in strong community or union pressure to initiate it. The pressures of the demands made by Black community groups in the late 60's and early 70's was mentioned as the starting point of a number of community services projects. The actual or perceived potential pressure of trade unions for services was mentioned on only two occasions.

7. The availability of funds by a profitable corporation was cited by one respondent as a prime reason why the corporation was now offering additional services.

8. A number of corporations in our sample had strong personal ties to their founders or current major figures who advocate services. There was a certain noblesse oblige in some of these accounts. A founder of one of these firms said to us, "Sure, there's African mahogany on the walls of the Recreation Building. It cost a lot of money. But the workers work hard for us. They need to know that the bosses appreciate them, and they need to know that they're important."

8. Concluding propositions

From this evidence we wish to draw some concluding propositions based on our survey of 23 workplaces. These propositions reflect some of the larger themes emerging from the survey. In mentioning the five propositions below we have chosen issues that appear to lend themselves to empirical verification by researchers who, we trust, will engage in further studies concerning workplace services.

Proposition #1: There appears to be a minimal threshold of service provision below which a workplace is unlikely to fall. Even the poorest of service providers were likely to have dispensers for food items, a public telephone, informal opportunities to exchange information, a bulletin board, etc. To be sure, these represent low-level and usually low-cost types of services, but in our definition, they are services, nevertheless.

Proposition #2: There appears to be considerable discrepancy among workplaces in terms of numbers of services provided. Some workplaces, as we have discovered above, offer a wide variety of different services while others barely exceed a minimal threshold. Between these two extremes there is a continuum of aggregate service provisions.

Proposition #3: It appears that the incidence of service provision is higher in the non-union workplace, particularly the large non-union workplace, than in the unionized work setting.

Proposition #4: There appears to be a tendency for the small firm to be a minimal service provider. On the other end of the spectrum, large firms do not necessarily provide a high degree of services, even though selected large firms provide more services than any others in our sample.

Proposition #5: It appears that one of the factors motivating some managements to institute and sustain services is the retention of a satisfied and non-unionized workforce.

We shall review the implications of these propositions in later chapters.

III. TYPES OF SERVICES

Chapter II presented an overview of this survey in broad brush strokes. In this chapter, we will examine the data in more detail, looking at each of the eight service categories, providing a definition, statistical tables and a discussion of specific examples on a service by service basis. We hope to put some flesh on the statistical bones, combining the information uncovered in our interviews at 23 worksites with related information gleaned from other sources, particularly our expert interviews and selected readings.

In reading the tables it is important to realize that the numbers cited refer to the number of times a service type was discovered. Thus a relatively popular service classification may contain, say fifty different identifiable activities, even though they may have occurred at only fifteen workplaces. In the narrative we will, where appropriate, refer to the number of workplaces represented by a given service category. For example, under the subcategory of "health services" of Individual and Family Assistance, we find twenty specific services (such as flu shots, blood banks, breast cancer clinics) mentioned in only ten workplaces. This means that less than half of our sample of twenty-three worksites made available these services while a goodly number made available two or more such services.

We have attempted here to illustrate the frequency of services provided, although our data on cost and usage is rather sparse, mainly due to the unavailability of such information. When possible, we have attempted to supply this information, which often amounts to estimates provided by company personnel. It should also be mentioned that a few of the services are cross listed in two categories, although for the most part, a given service is only cited once. Thus for example, career counseling is cited under Individual and Family Assistance as well as under Self Actualization. The provision of libraries also falls under both Workplace Amenities and Information and Exchange.

While our data are far from exhaustive or scientific in nature, what follows will offer a vivid look into the range and scope of non-work related activities that do exist in a minimal nature and with great frequency. From our observations, interviews and opinions elicited, we will make concluding comments at the end of each subsection as well as in the conclusion, highlighting the trends that appear most evident.

A. Recreation and Entertainment

1. Introduction

The most frequent service with a long tradition at the workplace is that of recreation and entertainment. Such leisure time activities are generally easy to provide, receive worker support, and were initiated in a

substantial number of cases by workers themselves rather than by management. In this study, we focus on:

> Activities that include athletic, social, cultural and leisure time pursuits of employees and their families taking place at the firm's, the union's, or the community's facilities.

The extent to which recreation and entertainment services were provided varied extensively. Some firms had very active employee associations and/or large recreation centers or country club facilities. Other firms, particularly the small and medium sized companies simply sponsored bowling leagues or softball teams and held annual picnics or holiday parties. The table below illustrates the types of activities we uncovered. It will be followed by a detailed service by service description.

2. Statistical table

RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT
(service frequency count)

Service	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
	Union	Non Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Athletic activities and Events	12	18	30	2	5	23	30
Employee clubs	6	4	10	0	3	7	10
Social activities	12	13	25	3	7	15	25
Special Events--Off-hours workplace events	8	7	15	0	3	12	15
Exhibits	1	1	2	0	1	1	2
Facilities	14	8	22	0	3	19	22
Betting Pools	3	1	4	0	0	4	4
Alcoholic Beverage Bar	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
Total	57	52	109	5	22	82	109

3. Narrative of recreation and entertainment services

a) Athletic activities and events. At 16 different workplaces we found a variety of athletic activities, including employee or employer sponsored teams in the various sports; opportunities for individualized recreation such as golf, tennis, skeet shooting, and physical fitness programs, lessons and clinics, and inter and intra company athletic tournaments. Many of the firms belonged to industrial leagues, and others were large enough to have leagues made up strictly of their own employees. The range of athletic activities included basketball, tennis, golf, baseball, football, hockey, horseshoes, soccer, swimming, volleyball, etc. Three of the firms had their own large recreation facilities, and three other firms surveyed, part of a citywide industrial association, had access to several large

recreational facilities in the city, where a myriad of athletic activities took place. A more complete description of the recreational services of an extensive nature can be found in three of the cases studied in Chapter IV.

b) Employee clubs. At eight worksites, we discovered employee clubs, which were normally geared toward leisure time hobby or craft interests, and in four cases, organized strictly for retired employees or those near retirement age. The hobby clubs included everything from pottery and radio groups to a garden club, drama organizations, bridge clubs, toastmasters clubs, and the like.

The retirement clubs met periodically, helping to keep the individual in touch with the firm and provided a series of social activities, including card tournaments, group tours and organized trips to various entertainment events, besides supplying these people with a place to socialize. In addition, each of the retirement clubs had information available about senior citizen benefits and services available in the community and from the firm.

c) Social activities. Eighteen firms either sponsored or had social activities emanating through the workplace, often the result of union or employee association efforts. These included parties, dances, dinners, organized excursions to ballgames and entertainment events, group vacation tours, family activities such as picnics and children's activities such as puppet shows, scavenger hunts, and children's craft classes. The larger firms with their own recreation facilities had a wide variety of family activities that included both sports, hobby centers, and educational activities.

d) Special events. At ten worksites, we encountered a variety of noontime or off hour activities such as art displays, fashion shows, special concerts, feature films, etc. One firm has a yearly Fourth of July celebration at its employee recreation park, while in another case, the various hobby clubs displayed and sold their wares. One worker commented that he had purchased three plants at the garden club show and learned how to prune the plants from a fellow employee displaying her prize plants.

A number of firms also had art exhibits, one in particular displaying and selling the works of inmates at the nearby state prison.

e) Facilities for recreation and entertainment. Twenty-one workplaces had some recreation or entertainment facility available to workers. A large company in the mid-west, through its employee association, operated a 353-acre recreation park, with facilities for boating, camping, miniature golf, horseback riding, swimming, plus ball fields, and target ranges. It also rented facilities for indoor activities such as basketball, square dancing and hobby and craft clubs. Another large firm had a skating rink right on the company premises for use by employees and their families. A large trucking firm was in the process of building a recreation center that will include a heated swimming pool, a body building room, saunas, a game room, locker rooms, tennis and bocci courts and a number of meeting rooms and lounges. The city-wide industrial association, highlighted in Chapter IV, operates a children's farm, offering hayrides, sleighrides and a children's zoo; a children's playland and amusement park; a sophisticated hockey arena

and a lodge for family outings and receptions. The smaller firms generally used community facilities.

f) Betting pools. While we were only able to verify the existence of betting pools at four workplaces on an informal nature among employees, it is probably safe to say that employees in a majority of workplaces organize pools for the various sports events including the world series, football games and professional basketball. In no instance was this activity an institutionalized or approved service provided by companies.

g) Alcoholic beverage bar. As might be expected, drinking intoxicating beverages during working hours is not encouraged, and in fact usually discouraged. In one instance, however, we found a union, with its union hall just a stone's throw from the manufacturing plant, operating a bar for its members. When we visited the facility at noontime, we witnessed one lunch shift leaving and another entering, with every seat at the bar taken and a substantial number of workers mingling about, eating a sandwich and sipping a cold beer.

4. Concluding comments

It appears that recreation and entertainment are quite popular, especially the events and activities that require individual involvement such as the participant sports. The variety of non-work related endeavors also seem to provide an outlet for workers, in many cases giving individuals a great sense of satisfaction and accomplishment, and providing a means for social interaction and responsibility. The production worker on the assembly line, who performs the same task every day and takes orders from a supervisor, seemed to be the most frequent user of such services. In many instances, these activities allowed the individual to participate in organizing events and to take leadership responsibility.

Company recreation parks and centers were used extensively by workers and their families, and in several instances, these facilities appeared to be a focal point for social relations and the recreational life of a good number of the employee populations.

B. Community Service

1. Introduction

As indicated in Chapter I, there has recently been considerable corporate interest in "the community." After the racial riots of the 1960s such terms as "corporate responsibility," "affirmative action," "urban coalitions," "give a damn" came increasingly into the lexicon of the American businessman. How much of this new thrust is reflected in the workplaces surveyed? Judging merely by the data reported below, one is forced to conclude that while some enterprises appear to have added--in a few cases dramatically--to their programmatic repertoire vis-a-vis the community, most have done so only in a token fashion. The most popular services remain

financial assistance to the community (usually through the Community Chest) and education.

It might be noted that our concern in this category of community service does not extend to legislated and compulsory endeavors that may be mandated through non-discrimination or environmental protection laws. These laws play a vital role bringing the corporation and union in touch with the community. Indeed, there may well not be a factor as important as legal mandates in stimulating two of the most basic community services: hiring minority members and protecting the environment. Be that as it may, we will concentrate our attention on community services as:

> Voluntary activities designed to enhance the community where the firm is located or where employees reside, or to enhance specific institutions or population groups in such communities. These activities may be initiated by the firm, the employees, or upon special requests, from either the public or private sectors in such communities.

2. Statistical table

The table below illustrates the types of community services found and their frequency.

COMMUNITY SERVICE
(service frequency count)

Service	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
	Union	Non-Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Education	4	13	17	0	5	12	17
Youth services	2	6	8	2	2	4	8
Time off for civic affairs	5	6	11	0	0	11	11
Use of company facilities for community activities	3	3	6	1	3	2	6
Political activities	2	3	5	0	1	4	5
Financial assistance to community	11	12	23	1	5	17	23
Housing	2	2	4	0	1	3	4
Environmental programs	2	1	3	2	1	0	3
Special hiring guarantees	2	3	5	0	1	4	5
Linkage to community organization	2	2	4	0	1	3	4
Total	35	51	86	6	20	60	86

3. Narrative of community service

a) Education. In an earlier section, we discussed the educational services provided by the firm, in the form of subsidies and courses geared for the worker population. By education here, we are referring to efforts in the community, including curriculum development in the public schools, work study programs, skill training of community residents and the availability of speakers, films and information to community organizations and institutions.

In one instance, a large industrial company, with nationwide locations, was involved in the development of a junior high school curriculum geared toward the world of work, the world of manufacturing and the world of construction. Textbooks were developed, in conjunction with a midwestern university, and the local personnel director at a New Jersey plant acted as a catalyst to introduce this information to the Newark school system.

Three of the companies visited were running work study programs in conjunction with local high schools. Normally, the high school student would work at the plant for a half day, with pay, while attending school during the other part of the day. In many instances, such internships led to jobs upon graduation. One program in particular was geared toward dropouts or potential school dropouts, and had a built-in counseling factor, with close cooperation between the company supervisor and a school official.

Another program, run by a community agency supported directly by business and industry, has 100 young men at any given time involved in rehabilitating homes in poor neighborhoods and another 50 young men and women working in the business community. In both phases of the program, these high school students may work up to 20 hours a week and earn from $1.80 to $2.40 an hour, depending on the length of time they had been in the program. As an agency staff member put it, the program "provides an opportunity for those young people who have been 'turned off' by the traditional high school to return to an academic situation and attain a high school diploma or an equivalency diploma while at the same time gaining valuable work experience that prepares them for the world of work."

Skill-training for community residents, particularly for minority and poor persons residing in the firm's central city, was found in five situations. In one case, a chemical firm made a well publicized attempt to interest central city residents to receive compensated training at the plant, located on the fringes of the city. Transportation was arranged. Candidates were assured that they had no obligation to remain in the firm's employ after the training period.

A fourth educational endeavor concerns company speakers to schools and community organizations, plus the availability of films and printed matter, paid for and given by the company to the outside institutions. For example, one firm published a booklet on how to obtain a high school equivalency diploma, and another published a booklet on drug abuse, this one being distributed to the local school system. In all, three firms were involved in this activity.

b) Youth services. Four firms provided youth services to the community, ranging from the sponsorship of scouting groups to work with junior achievement. In two of the companies, explorer troops met on the company premises and were supervised by an employee of the firm. In another instance, any worker who was a scout master, including blue collar workers, was given special time off with pay to conduct these activities when necessary. A third firm sponsored a junior achievement program in an inner city neighborhood, working with a church organization, and provided space for the youngsters to sell their products at the company offices. In another instance, a company located in an urban setting periodically sponsors day-long playground programs for inner city children, busing the children to the local university campus for activities, a free lunch, and free T-shirts. A number of firms also run tours of their facilities for school groups.

c) Time off for civic affairs. One firm of the 23 had recently initiated a comprehensive social leave program, designed to give an employee, usually management, a year off to work in a socially useful endeavor. Several other companies have also initiated such a policy, allowing employees to teach at black colleges, for example, and maintaining their salaries plus paying all extra expenses incurred in the move during the year's leave of absence. The concept is fairly reminiscent of sabbaticals granted by universities, and from all indications, such programs have not only helped to broaden the individual but aided the community institutions.

Two firms provided for "personal days off," allowing the employee to take time off for any community service that might be deemed legitimate. Two other firms operated a social leave policy on a limited basis, lending executives to head the local urban league and urban coalitions for a one-year period, with the full salary paid by the company.

A total of six companies also lent personnel on a short term basis to municipal governments and community organizations that needed technical assistance. In Newark, for example, one firm lent three accountants to the city government for three months, provided personnel to the Model Cities Program on a free consultant basis, and assigned an architect to the board of education to administer building construction costs and design modifications.

Three firms provided direct technical assistance to minority enterprise. One firm not only provided financial loans, but offered to assist in training the management and production workers of a new minority owned metal stamping and electronic transformer plant located in the inner city. In addition, they provided technical and managerial support and counseling.

In another case, we also found a workplace that had a number of workers who were members of a volunteer fire and ambulance corps in the community. When the fire whistle rang out, these men were allowed to leave their jobs to answer the call. The workplace in question was a municipal government in a suburban community. Many men are commuting to work in a large city, leaving the municipal employees as the rare manpower pool for emergency duties during the day.

d) Use of company facilities for community activities. In nine different worksites, we found companies allowing their facilities to be used

for community meetings and programs, social service fairs or sales and exhibits by community groups. As noted earlier, several explorer posts meet at company offices; a local bank allowed the Urban League to hold its meetings on their premises. In another firm, however, no outside function is permitted; we were told of the single exception when, during Hurricane Agnes, the facilities were used as an emergency rescue center.

e) Political activities. Political activities at the workplace appeared to be minimal, with one union active in voter registration at the plant and in four instances, organizations within the firm providing some form of voter education. One of these programs is further described in Chapter V.

f) Financial assistance to the community. Twenty-one of the 23 firms provided some form of financial assistance to the community, usually in the form of worker and corporate contributions to the local United Fund campaign. Three firms provided direct financial support to community groups. One firm provided the seed money to a legal services and other community agencies, while another corporation helped finance a minority owned television station, besides providing technical and legal assistance and space for the antenna and transmitters.

One firm donated a golf course to the community in which it was located, while five firms surveyed said they had donated equipment, such as typewriters, desks and supplies to community groups.

g) Housing. Housing is a complicated and intricate program to run successfully. It is not surprising then, that only four workplaces mentioned programs in this area. One trade union was the sponsor of a senior citizen housing development, while a large manufacturing firm created a semi-independent housing development corporation that is presently making plans for a possible New Town. This new community, still on the drawing board, would serve employees as well as other residents of the region.

h) Environmental activities. It might be presumed, in this age of awareness about the destruction of our environment and the "throw-away" society that we live in, that American companies would be actively involved in programs with their workers. One firm participated in a short term community cleanup campaign, lending its trucks and drivers to the community, while the school district we visited sponsored a community cleanup campaign that involved students, teachers and other employees. The same worksite ran a recycling center in the community, where old bottles and cans could be deposited. It seems that the worksite would be a perfect location for a recycling depository, where workers could bring their recyclable materials with them to work. However, this was not the norm, but the very rare exception.

i) Special hiring guarantees. These deal with those affirmative action programs that guarantee the hiring of minority group members once they have successfully passed a training program. There were five firms in this category. Since affirmative action programs are not the central focus of this report, we merely wished to cite this item without further analysis.

j) Linkage to community organizations. The manner in which businesses link themselves to community organizations spans many practices. In only four workplaces did we find a more or less consistent pattern, where these linkage functions funnel through a particular individual or where the procedure was reasonably systematized. Otherwise, there were instances of dealing with community groups on an ad hoc basis, depending on the occasion for the contact, the urgency of the request or demand, who was helping whom, etc. In one workplace, a management representative had, as part of his job description, the portfolio of working with community organizations. In many ways he was the corporation's ambassador to the community and represented the company--not himself--on the board of the local Urban League and a drug rehabilitation center. At another corporation deliberate efforts were made to work in close cooperation with the local Community Action Program, particularly in terms of hiring personnel recommended by the CAP. It should be added that this same corporation also took a strongly positive stand on hiring persons from the local prisons and welfare recipients.

4. Concluding comments

Proposition #6: The category of community service can be seen as a watershed category in which some firms and unions participate rather actively and many others are conspicuous by their absence. There is also a tendency for an actively involved firm to provide services in a number of community service categories.

Proposition #7: One of the determining factors that appears to influence the firm's response to community service is in management commitments.

We noted that those firms that had strong, personalized leadership, often closely linked to the founder, could make public and institutional commitments that were not in evidence in other firms. There may even emerge a management style that has a strong "public regarding" edge to it, as compared to a "private regarding" thrust of other organizations. This formulation was first introduced by Professor James Q. Wilson of Harvard University and appears susceptible to empirical testing. At any rate, and stripped of its more carefully worded academic caution, it seems that if the top man in the organization is convinced that his outfit should participate in community affairs, such participation is going to happen with much more likelihood than if he is lukewarm about such involvement or looks upon it as altruism for which there is little payoff. (See case studies re. Eastern Industries, ZeeFlax Corporation, and Mamouth Motors in Chapter IV.)

Proposition #8: The use of the workplace for political and public affairs purposes is approached with considerable caution by most managements. While both unions and management express political preference vis-à-vis their own constituencies where their interests are involved, the use of the workplace for political education and debate by employees is usually deemed inappropriate, even when the issue is not partisan. (We shall return to this proposition when discussing a Program Recommendation.)

C. Workplace Amenities

1. Introduction

The worksite can provide facilities that encourage dialogue, offer breathing space and opportunities for the fulfillment of non-work oriented needs. In addition, the physical work environment and its auxiliary facilities can be either pleasant or drab, create an atmosphere which is aesthetically pleasing or one that is grey and depressing. In this study, we focused on:

> The facilities at the worksite which enhance and encourage employee non-work related activities. These facilities may include the availability of equipment and environmental amenities designed to further relaxation, group interaction or other personal agendas. These facilities may be provided free of charge or on a subsidized basis for employees only, their families, or in some cases, for the community at large. Also included are technical services provided by one employee to another at the worksite.

In the offices of one large industrial firm, ivy was hanging from the walls and decorative designs lent an interesting and pleasing air to the total surroundings. Several firms had art displays on their walls and seven workplaces, all located in suburban campus settings, had gardens, walking paths, picnic tables and card tables that were utilized by employees. (It hardly needs to be pointed out, of course, that if the nature of the job is dull and boring, and if there is little worker satisfaction, these amenities will not by themselves create a desirable work situation.)

In the urban setting, it was suggested to us that companies plan their physical facilities "to push people outside" during noontime and other non-work periods by creating a common meeting ground or plaza for company and non-company people, with inviting and pleasant places to sit down. This amenity would provide a place where people can talk, observe street life, girl watch or boy watch, and have access to vendors.

2. Statistical table

The chart below illustrates the scope of workplace amenities uncovered in our survey. This will be followed by a detailed description of each service.

WORKPLACE AMENITIES
(service frequency count)

Service	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
	Union	Non-Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Facilities at worksite	36	35	71	7	16	48	71
Utilization of company equipment	8	8	16	2	4	10	16
Food services at company site	16	10	26	2	8	16	26
Technical services provided by fellow employees	9	9	18	2	3	13	18
Totals	69	62	131	13	31	87	131

3. Narrative of workplace amenities

a) Facilities at the worksite. We found twenty-one of the 23 companies providing some type of facility for non-work related activity at the worksite. As might be expected, the firms with the largest employee population were more likely to offer a wider variety of such facilities. Seven firms have auditoriums at the workplace which are used for lectures, films, plays, concerts and conferences.

Three of the firms have gymnasiums for use by employees and their families. In each case the gymnasium is part of a company recreation center complex. In seven instances, firms paid for the use of indoor facilities and one firm, which was not part of our study, is known to pay the membership fee at the local YMCA for all employees who wish to join.

Ten firms provided meeting rooms for employee clubs and non-work activities, while five of these firms also had larger meeting halls for parties and gatherings. In several instances, unions had their own facility near the plant site where dances, retirement and holiday parties and wedding receptions were held.

We also encountered locker rooms for workers to change clothing, store their possessions and pass the time of day during off hours.

Only 11 of the 23 worksites had lounges for employees to relax during lunch periods and off hours. These rooms generally had comfortable chairs, reading matter, card tables, music and occasionally coffee machines and recreation equipment, such as ping pong tables, shuffleboard courts, etc.

Libraries were found at four firms, and provided a place to relax and read magazines, newspapers and the like.

In every suburban setting, parking facilities were provided for employees on a first come, first served basis, although executives generally received priority and reserved spaces. Car pools were prevalent, since in most cases, public transportation was inadequate. At the inner city worksites, one company charged one dollar per week for parking while others had limited parking facilities. This meant that workers had to fend for themselves, either parking on the street or paying the fee for private parking. In all, 18 of the 23 firms provided some parking space for employees.

b) Utilization of company equipment. We have subdivided this section into two parts, namely the use of office equipment during working hours, and the use of company equipment outside the worksite. In the first instance, we found that 13 firms allowed employees general use of the telephones, typewriters, copying machines, etc. In most cases, office workers and management personnel had greater access and were allowed leeway as long as the privilege was not abused. Personal long distance calls were normally frowned upon, and in several cases, abuse of the copying machines resulted in stricter controls. However, supervisors generally looked the other way if an employee wished to copy a recipe, magazine article, dirty joke, etc.

There were a number of work settings, however, that not only frowned on, but prohibited use of such equipment. In one case, as explained in the case study on a declining small firm, a production worker was not informed about an important call until an hour after it was received, and then not allowed to return the call until his break or lunch hour. In contrast, we encountered a large production plant that had phones available near the assembly line and a policy that allowed workers to make calls when necessary.

At a large utility company workers were allowed to use the company garage to repair their cars during off hours as long as permission was granted.

A local school district allowed employees to utilize the high school's auto, wood and metal shops as well as the home economics room. Very often this depended on time constraints, scheduling and the relationship of the individual worker to the person in charge of the facility. One large camera and photo processing firm had several large areas set aside for developing film, and provided unlimited access to the photo labs. Employees at another firm told us they made use of the company computers to calculate odds and conduct a football pool each week during football season.

The use of company equipment outside the worksite was less common, and only found in eight cases. Employees at one firm were allowed to borrow tools over the weekend and could take home any unwanted scrap metal or pipe fittings. At another firm, employees were allowed to borrow tape recorders, adding machines and slide projectors for short periods of time.

c) Food services and company site. Nine of the 23 firms, mainly in suburban settings, provided subsidized cafeterias for employees, since access to private eating places was limited by distance and short lunch hours.

Eight firms had vending machines for coffee, candy, sandwiches and/or cigarettes. As noted in two of the case studies in Chapter IV, vending machines profits were used to pay for a wide variety of recreation and non-work related activities. At several firms, the vending machines were located in one central place, while in others, the machines were dispersed in a variety of sites throughout the plant.

Two of the workplaces had snack bars, where sandwiches and other items could be purchased, while three firms had coffee carts which made the rounds to the different offices at the firm.

d) Technical services provided by fellow employees. The work setting brings together a wide spectrum of individuals, each with different skills and different personal interests. Group interaction often facilitates informal services--or simply, one individual assisting another. Thus, a janitor in one plant visited had skills in plumbing and the repair of home appliances and provided the information on how to fix a broken toaster. We found mechanics in company repair shops assisting fellow employees tune up engines, and repair their cars. In other cases, employees were able to have welding done free of charge, a letter typed by a secretary, and obtain advice on income tax preparation from an accountant at the company on an informal basis. The range of possibilities is limitless. The production worker who has little contact with the white collar employee may have less access to the secretary, the company attorney, or the accountant, while the white collar office worker may not know the worker who has a skill in carpentry or boiler repair.

4. Concluding comments

Proposition #9: The provision of workplace amenities for non-work related needs, other than minimal provisions, such as parking, appears to be viewed as a low order of priority.

Our data suggest, for example, that at most, half of the 23 workplaces had anything approaching a spectrum of facilities to meet non-work needs. This varied according to the size of the firm, with the larger firms and those companies with new facilities tending to have more in the way of workplace amenities. Economic and space considerations may be determining factors for this overall state of affairs.

Proposition #10: The informal assistance employees give to one another tends to be related to the job assignments they perform and the concomitant skill they are reported to possess. Mutual self-help efforts among employees tend to be more a function of informal rather than formal arrangements; they tend to remain non-institutionalized, although persistent over time.

Thus, for example, it is likely that a firm with a predominance of white collar workers may provide less opportunity for employees to have contact with people who possess skills such as plumbing, carpentry, etc. Or, in another case, more psychological and counseling services may be readily available in a school system than in an assembly plant. These services usually are not formally arranged but depend upon informal social acquaintance.

Activity Recommendation #4: There appears to be a correlation between architectural forms provided to facilitate personal usage at the workplace and the ease of interpersonal relationships among employees in these settings. This hypothesis should be tested in such spaces as lounges, corridors, auditoriums, plazas, meeting rooms, cafeterias, and libraries.

In addition, design attention should be paid to multi-purpose use of work stations so that they might be utilized after hours by employees and/or community members for non-work related purposes. Sometimes such considerations might lead to nothing more prosaic than "just a nice place to sit" for employees, to use the words of William H. Whyte.

D. Self actualization

1. Introduction

One of the particularly relevant contributions of any human activity pertains to the degree of self actualization it encourages, or, in other words, how it provides the individual with a sense of dignity, self satisfaction and personal growth. In terms of self actualization at the workplace, there is a fine dividing line between job related and non-job related endeavors, but certainly the efforts of some companies to redesign jobs, giving individual workers more responsibility and a greater sense of personal involvement, represents a basic contribution that an employer can make to a worker's sense of self actualization. In this study, we tended to look at activities that were not directly, or at least only indirectly related to the specific work role. We define this category as:

> Activities that tend to help facilitate personal fulfillment and that help to realize the individual's creative potential through self expression or that highlight his own awareness of others and their needs as well as his own.

As the table below illustrates, we have subdivided this category into the headings of self fulfillment, which includes items like Bible study, life goal sessions, and sensitivity training; services workers perform of a non-work related nature for their peers at the workplace; and thirdly, services provided to others outside the workplace, primarily in the context of volunteerism. What is clear from our study, as shown in the table, is that efforts by companies or unions in the area of self actualization are sparse, and the service category least often formally provided.

2. Statistical table

SELF ACTUALIZATION
(service frequency count)

Service	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
	Union	Non-Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Self fulfillment	3	7	10	0	5	5	10
Services to others--at workplace	3	1	4	2	1	1	4
Service to others--outside workplace	0	2	2	0	0	2	2
Totals	6	10	16	2	6	8	16

3. Narrative of self actualization services

a) Self fulfillment. A general impression from our interviews was that most programs for career development and self awareness, where they exist, are geared toward the managerial employees, rather than the blue collar production worker or the office and clerical worker. In a total of seven firms, all large, we found activities that could be classified as self actualization. One such service, found in a number of instances, was group sensitivity sessions oriented toward better interpersonal relationships and often race relations. Very often these sessions were one shot deals or part of a short term supervisory training program.

At one location, we encountered a group of 25 employees who met every Tuesday during their lunch hour for Bible study and discussion of the scriptures and religious topics. At the same firm, which is presently being challenged for not providing equal treatment for women, a women's liberation group was organized to fight for equality at the workplace and to raise their consciousness as women. Their meetings, however, are held off the worksite.

Another firm ran group sessions for both production and supervisory workers on writing, speaking and listening skills, combining these workshops with a general theme of interpersonal communication.

There have been increasing instances of life goal sessions and self awareness groups for both management and rank and file employees, at least in the larger firms, often as part of organizational development programs. Indeed, a number of trainers in organizational development would insist that the work related organizational tasks cannot be discussed without proper, depth probing analysis of employee's personal agendas and aspirations.

b) Service to others at the workplace. Many individuals derive direct satisfaction and personal fulfillment from their job tasks, while others appear to find it in helping fellow employees. So, for example, an engineer at a firm may teach an evening course in mathematics to fellow employees while a company accountant will hold a seminar on income tax preparation, both men receiving status and a feeling of accomplishment from this non-work related task. A cafeteria worker at a local high school district periodically assisted the home economics teacher by teaching a class of high school students how to decorate a cake.

c) Services to others outside the workplace. As mentioned in a previous section, many workers with special skills assist their co-workers outside the workplace, often as a personal favor, or at times for remuneration. But we also found instances where workers offered their services on a voluntary basis to community organizations or social service agencies, often as a result of contacts made at the workplace. Through an employee association at one plant, several hundred workers were recruited to man telephones to give advice to potential suicide victims, to work as tutors at a local prison, and to work with emotionally disturbed children. Sixty volunteers from another company were recruited through a local volunteer service agency to take a five week training course, paid for by the company, so that they would be prepared to serve as tutors at an evening adult education program. Several firms sponsored programs for disadvantaged children and recruited employees to spend the day working with the youngsters.

4. Concluding comments

Proposition #11: Non-work related services tend to be secondary sources of enhancing self actualization as compared with the job activity at the workplace.

Therefore, an employer or union concerned with meaningful activities under the rubric of self actualization should concentrate on the generic work task rather than on non-work related endeavors. Self actualization cannot be achieved by simply participating in a few discreet non-work related services, but rather, self actualization is intimately interwoven with work-related activities, including "work satisfaction" and union activities. This is not to imply, however, that activities which encourage self fulfillment and provide an outlet for individual initiative and achievement cannot or should not be made available or facilitated through the workplace.

It also must be pointed out that even though we found few items that might be classified as self actualization, the reason for this may have been our own inability to define the area clearly enough or to be sufficiently sensitive to the various nuances that are operative in the work relationships. It is very difficult to conduct programs focusing exclusively on this category. Moreover, there appears to be some apprehension on the part of management and labor, in some instances, to provide such formalized activities that result very often in the individual re-examining his psychological and philosophical needs. This can often lead or cause discontentment and frustration with present work and life styles, resulting in dysfunctional behavior, at least in the eyes of the company or union leadership.

E. Individual and Family Assistance

1. Introduction

In a sense, most or all services provided at or through a workplace are aimed at benefiting individual employees and their families. Our concern is with a somewhat narrower range of issues, namely with:

> Service provided to employees and their families to respond to health, welfare, personal, psychological and related needs; the services should help the individual employee deal with non-work needs in this category by either maintaining or preventing the occurrence of problems or by actively assisting and helping the individual once the problem has arisen.

As was stated in Chapter I, the dividing line between work-related and non-work related services is difficult to draw. Thus, when we list physical examinations as a non-work related service, we distinguish between the pre-service or initial physical examination which we consider work-related, and the examination that is performed periodically either for that individual employee and/or members of his family. The former, we thought, is often a condition of employment primarily designed to protect the employer and the organization's efficient functioning, while the latter examinations, though clearly also of benefit to the employer, is probably of greater benefit to the individual's well-being.

Similarly, we included the service activity of "nurse" only to designate the one instance where a nurse, employed by a firm, was available without charge to families of the employee or to retired employees at their homes. Needless to say, several firms, especially larger ones, maintain a medical office, including nurses, on their premises.

2. Statistical table

The statistical table derived from our interviews at 23 workplaces is shown on page 62.

3. Narrative of individual and family assistance services

a) Health services. A variety of health services, aside from the hospitalization plans provided under contractual arrangements or as part of a benefit package, existed in workplaces surveyed. Most industrial firms had first aid stations and medical personnel present in case of on the job accidents. While these services might generally be considered directly work related, individuals who took sick on the job could receive immediate treatment. One large industrial manufacturing concern recently purchased small vehicles, a little bigger than golf carts, and runs an ambulance service within the plant, which is quite large. In every case, the physicians available at the worksite were strictly for employee use and seldom, if ever provided care or treatment for the family. As mentioned already, one firm provided a visiting nurse service for employees. In addition, as mentioned in a Chapter IV case study, a firm, acting in cooperation with 10 smaller

INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY ASSISTANCE
(service frequency count)

Service	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
	Union	Non-Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Health services	14	9	23	4	7	12	23
Counseling and referral services	14	9	23	3	4	16	23
Drug abuse treatment and referral	2	0	2	0	0	2	2
Referral service only	6	3	9	2	3	4	9
Relocation or housing assistance	1	6	7	0	1	6	7
Death benefit fund	3	1	4	0	0	4	4
Day care	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Legal assistance	2	2	4	0	1	3	4
Income tax and financial advise	2	2	4	1	2	1	4
Flexible hours	0	2	2	0	2	0	2
Supportive services to disabled	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Ombudsman	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total	45	36	81	10	21	50	81

concerns recently built an industrial health center with in-patient care facilities. At present it does not treat non-work related needs, but there are plans to provide certain medical services to the workers and families that will go beyond worksite accidents.

Flu shots were administered at four firms, in three cases through company auspices and in the fourth case through the local union. In the case of the union, company officials would not grant time off during the working day, and employees had to go to the union hall after hours, or in some cases, travel home to get their families and then come back.

Blood banks were found to exist at six companies, breast cancer clinics at one worksite and sickle cell testing at one company. Another company also dispensed vitamins at a discount price to employees, and as already discussed, physical examinations were given at six firms, often to management or after an employee had reached age forty. In only a few instances did we find yearly examinations being administered.

b) Counseling and referral services. Here we discovered five workplaces where vocational and career counseling took place. The emphasis was usually on internal promotions or lateral transfers, rather than on helping an employee find a related or new career in another firm.

Family counseling included one comprehensive program further described in Chapter V, where the human relations counselor makes home visits and deals with a series of non-work related family problems that run the gamut of impending divorces, nagging mothers-in-law, and hostility between parents and teen age children. The second instance deals with a professional local social work service retained by a firm to counsel employees about family problems and, if necessary, to make house calls.

Veterans counseling was found in only three instances where returning veterans received special counseling and referral. Pre-retirement counseling, on the other hand, took place in seven workplaces ranging from a series of pre-retirement gatherings and a plethora of information, to a rather token gathering or two in which literature on social security and other benefits appeared to play the principal role.

We distinguished "psychological-professional" counseling from "human relations counseling" because, though the two are clearly related, the former uses the services of a professionally accredited clinical psychologist, while the five others were conducted primarily by persons trained in guidance and were usually limited to short term counseling.

Informal counseling existed at six worksites, and primarily was a task performed by personnel departments, or supervisory persons. In these situations, it was the belief that if a person had a problem, it could be handled on an individual basis when assistance was requested. No formal mechanisms for referral or professional counseling services were provided.

The area of counseling will be discussed in more depth in Chapter V and Chapter VI under program recommendations.

c) Drug abuse treatment. Only one firm had a comprehensive drug treatment program whereby those who had drug problems were both counseled and assisted in entering a program for detoxification, if necessary, while still being maintained on the payroll. Another firm's personnel director said it was normal company policy to fire any individual with a known drug problem. Now, the company, under a new policy, not implemented at the time of the survey, will give all new employees urine and blood tests to predetermine whether or not there is a drug problem. This may prevent the individual from being hired, and thus may complicate the problem. However, those with problems that come to the attention of supervisors are to be referred to programs where they can receive assistance.

Another program initiated by a national union, which had not really siphoned down to the local level we surveyed, called for a three step process, including apprehension of narcotic pushers in the plants, work with local community organizations to encourage proper referral and treatment, and the provision of information about drugs, their dangers and where to receive help.

d) Alcohol treatment and referral. Many companies appear not to deal with this problem, firing an employee who cannot meet the job requirements because of a drinking problem, or in some cases offering individual assistance on a sporadic basis. In only one instance did we find an established program that sought to identify alcoholics, find them a buddy who is a member of Alcoholics Anonymous and get them involved in a program. If the individual required hospitalization, the company covered the cost and continued the salary of the employee for a two to three week period.

e) Referral services only. This category covers the enterprise that does not treat health, drug, alcohol, or counsel employees, but refers them to treatment institutions, usually community-centered. Nine firms offered referral services, but seldom was there a direct linkage to community social service agencies and organizations or follow-up after the referral was made.

f) Relocation and housing assistance. Relocation policies appear to be geared for upper level management and are employed when the company transfers an employee or when the company moves a plant to a new location. One firm, for example, which was transfering a large group of employees, offered a number of options, including payment of the cost of moving household goods; payment of closing costs on both ends and a fair offer for the individual's home if he could not sell it on the market; provision for loans based on the equity of the old house for the purchase of a new home (interest free); payment for sixty days motel bills if a new home could not be found; payment for seven days house hunting for the wife and husband; plus the cost for a babysitter if necessary or desired. This firm, also hired an outside consultant to scout the new area for available housing and provide the employees with additional information about the community's school system and community organizations.

In terms of housing assistance, other than relocation to another city because of employee transfer, we discovered only one firm operating a brokerage service, helping employees to find apartments and homes. As noted in a previous section, notices of available apartments or homes were often found on company bulletin boards or listed in company newspapers.

g) Death benefit fund. This program, found in three companies, and in two cases run by the union, entails the collection of money from workers upon the death of a union member. The hat is passed and generally, one dollar per worker is requested. The money is then turned over to the widow or widower to help pay the funeral expenses. In the third instance, this activity was conducted by a management representative.

h) Day care. Only one firm surveyed had a full day care package. At the particular facility we visited, their efforts were directed simply at providing a booklet listing all of the day care facilities in the area with costs and locations included. In other company locations, the firm ran a day care program themselves at the plant site, while in another instance they paid an outside organization to run a facility in the community. A second firm visited also made substantial contributions to a local day care effort.

i) Legal assistance. In two instances we encountered a formalized program of legal assistance, one run by a union and a second run by a large

industrial firm. In the first program, the union attorney visits the union hall on the first and third Monday of every month to provide legal advice to union members on personal problems. The advice is free, and ranges on everything from divorce to an auto accident. If litigation or the preparation of papers is required, then the worker would have to find his own attorney or contract with the union lawyer for a fee. The second program, run by the firm, is similar in nature, and according to information supplied in interviews, is extensively used and may be expanded.

j) Income tax, financial advice. This activity was found at four firms, and took the form of the company providing a special individual to whom employees could go at the plant site; small group seminar or lectures on income tax preparation; classes relating to the two areas; counseling on home budgeting and control of personal finances. In most plants, individuals who knew the person to seek out for advice could normally find it, and in several instances, such matters were handled by the personnel department if the employee took the initiative.

k) Flexible hours. Two firms have recently begun a flexible hours program which permits an employee to come to work earlier and leave earlier or arrive an hour to two hours late and then make up the time at the end of the day. This flexibility, besides allowing the individual to sleep later, or giving him a greater sense of responsibility and control over his own life, also provides the opportunity to meet personal commitments outside the workplace and fulfills needs that may have been difficult to meet under a more rigid system.

l) Support for the disabled. One firm surveyed seemed to be making special efforts not only to hire the handicapped, but to assist them in adjusting to the job and getting around. A buddy system has been established, and every disabled worker had a companion who could assist him with any problems.

m) Ombudsman. See Chapter IV case study of ZeeFlax Corporation for a detailed description of the functions performed by an ombudsman at one large urban worksite. This was the only instance in which we discovered an ombudsman.

4. Concluding comments

Proposition #12: There appear to be few, if any, programs of comprehensive assessment of needs or problems, or for that matter, any systematic referral and treatment programs available to employees in the area of individual and family assistance.

What programs do exist appear to be fragmented, and seldom take into consideration the multiple needs workers may have. Only the ombudsman and human relations counselor seem to cut across these boundaries, but in each of these cases, both individuals were overloaded with work while making valiant efforts to service the entire workforce. Almost every personnel director interviewed related his pet story of how he had helped one individual or another, but seldom did they go beyond the individual basis to determine the extent of needs and problems the workers might be encountering

outside the workplace. This issue will be discussed in more detail under our program recommendations.

Proposition #13: There seems, from our indications, to be little linkage between public or private social service agencies and workplaces.

A mental health center official told us that attempts to work with firms in the Northern New Jersey area had not been productive. His plan was to provide diagnosis at the plant under a contractual arrangement with the firms, and offer treatment, if necessary, at his own facility. However, companies were reluctant to get involved or be saddled with the time requirements and expense of such a program.

In conclusion, it might be added that day care services, drug abuse and alcoholic treatment were rarely found in our sample of 23 firms, and in each case, it was anticipated that there would be greater corporate involvement. With a number of firms hiring greater numbers of blacks, Sickle Cell Testing might also have been thought of as more common than it turned out to be.

F. Education

1. Introduction

As the level of education rises in this country and job qualifications demand more credentials or greater technical and specialized skills, it often becomes necessary to go back to school for a high school equivalency diploma, a college degree, a specialized course of studies. Sometimes the motivation is strictly economic in nature and a desire to be promoted to a higher position. In other instances, an employee may be dissatisfied with his work, and seek to enter a new field or gain employment with another firm. In still other cases, individuals may go back to school on a part-time basis or take courses for no credit simply for personal satisfaction or enlightenment. Whatever the individual reason, we attempted to examine how companies were facilitating this process and specifically how they were encouraging employees to pursue their education in a manner that was not strictly tied to the job. For the purposes of definition, this category encompasses:

> Employer or union efforts that encourage or financially support formal teaching-learning enterprises by the employee and/or his family. Some of these activities are conducted at the workplace by the employer or at an outside organization while others are discharged through accredited educational institutions.

We have divided this category into the area of educational subsidies, which includes tuition refunds, scholarship aid to employees and employees' children and company contributions to educational institutions; and educational activities that take place at the worksite, which includes leisure interest courses, high school equivalency assistance, resource learning centers, seminars, and leadership training. The table below gives a general summary of what we encountered under these two groupings.

2. Statistical table

EDUCATION
(service frequency count)

Service	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
	Union	Non-Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Educational subsidies	14	11	25	4	1	20	25
Courses offered at workplace	13	9	22	7	1	14	22
Total	27	20	47	11	2	34	47

3. Narrative of educational services

a) Educational subsidies. Non-job related tuition refund programs were encountered in only 10 of the 23 firms surveyed. The scope and financial assistance varied in each case, and the use of this service appeared to be mainly utilized by white collar employees. Interviews with numerous blue collar production workers often drew an expression of uninterest, since many had never considered going back to school, or expressed content with their present situation. All of the tuition programs provided reimbursement for college courses and several were more comprehensive, including refunds for adult education, high school equivalency, and correspondence courses. The provisions at one nationwide service firm were 50% reinbursement of the first $600 of tuition expense in a school year and 100% reimbursement of tuition expense above $600 to a maximum of $1300 in a school year for regular full time employees. Regular part time employees had 25% of the first $600 paid and 50% of tuition expense above $600 to a maximum of $1300 in a school year, with the maximum company contribution not exceeding $500.

This company restricted courses of study to two and four year accredited colleges or two and four year technical institutes. It excluded high school, trade schools, business schools or specialty schools such as computer operation, air conditioning, or data processing. Workers are allowed to pursue courses for a degree, and non-degree situations where credit is granted. Non-degree, non-credit courses at college or university extension divisions must be work-related, according to this company's policy, although correspondence courses are accepted if they offer credit towards a degree. Employees are provided with a detailed explanation of the rules and procedures and may obtain their refund if they file several forms within 60 days after the completion of their course work for a semester.

Another firm, located in the midwest, provides 100% reimbursement for tuition up to $400 per semester for courses taken at accredited colleges, universities and high schools and 80% refund of the tuition fee, with a

maximum of $400 per year for course work with accredited correspondence schools. A satisfactory or passing grade is required, employees must be full time workers and permission must be received from a counselor, who also oversees the program and provides assistance and necessary guidance. At this particular firm, approximately 5% of the employee population availed themselves of this service, mainly in the management and office worker category. All of the 10 firms offering tuition reimbursement were large firms.

Educational scholarships for undergraduate and advanced degrees were granted to employees in only four of the 23 companies, and generally on a very limited basis. Six of the firms, however granted scholarships to the children of employees. One firm, Mamouth Motors, the firm described in Chapter IV's case study, runs an extensive scholarship program for youngsters, but has encountered discontentment when some students who qualify academically do not receive money. This same firm provides money to its retail distributors who agree to match the contributions made by the firm for scholarships for their own employees' children.

Many corporations especially the larger ones, make direct contributions to universities and colleges. However, two unique programs deserve attention. Under one program, the company gives at least $750 to the college attended by the employee for every year of service with the company to a maximum of $3,750 per person. The total gifts to black colleges during the past few years alone was $98,000.

The second program is a matching grants program, with the company matching a contribution made by an employee to the higher educational institution of his choice.

b) Courses offered at the worksite. Fifteen firms offered some form of education not related to the job on their premises, with more non-union firms doing so than in unionized situations, as the table in this section indicates. In the realm of leisure time educational activities, a total of six companies ran programs, either during the noontime breaks or after hours in the evenings. In one particular instance, enrollment in the evening courses declined at an inner city plant because workers were either afraid to stay in the city at night or did not have adequate transportation in the evening hours. The range of courses offered in these programs included effective speaking, rapid reading, Culinary Capers (cooking classes for men and women), law for the layman, income tax preparation, conversational Spanish, securities and investing, self defense, first aid, mathematics. A local union official, interviewed at a large production plant, said his union was running English classes for Spanish speaking workers at the union hall, with 50% funding coming from the union and 50% from the state university. The need arose because the Hispanic workers were having great difficulty communicating with supervisors and foremen, creating situations that often required finding someone who was bilingual to explain the issues at hand. Only a small percentage of the Hispanic workers were availing themselves of this program, which was conducted after hours.

In all cases, these leisure time courses were offered free of charge to the employees; instructors, oftentimes company employees themselves, were paid by the firm.

4. Concluding comments

In almost every case, the firms or unions supporting educational programs, tended to be those with large constituencies and presumably large resources. Small firms were virtually absent from non-work educational endeavors. With some notable exceptions, higher education institutions appeared not to be deeply involved with workplaces. The exceptions include the two state university labor institutes, an external degree college, and community college.

There seem to be a large number of work study programs operating for high school students at American companies, with high school credit being granted for part time work. However, we seldom encountered university level programs being offered at the worksite. Later we shall return to this observation in one of our program recommendations.

G. Information and Exchange

1. Introduction

The workplace serves as a central meeting ground for millions of Americans as does the church, the school, the community organization or the social club. But it is safe to say that individuals spend more time at their places of employment than in any other institutional setting away from home. Therefore, the workplace offers an excellent opportunity for information to be transmitted and exchanged among employees. Despite the sophisticated means of communication that our society has produced, there is only a minimal systematized information flow about the outside world that can be found inside the gates of the factory or the office. There was a wide range of information dispersed sporadically at the 23 workplaces surveyed, ranging from housing and social service availability to cultural and recreational information that would help meet the large spectrum of worker needs. It was also clearly evident from our interviews that most employees were not even aware of the scope of non-work related services offered by their own firm, let alone the vast array of services that might be offered in the community.

In this study, we observed the nature of information available at the places of employment, but chose to concentrate on the:

> Mechanisms by which written and verbal information concerning non-work related activities is disseminated at the workplace.

The most prevalent method of communication facilitated by the work environment was that of informal exchange. When people gather, they interact, trade stories, and exchange information. An employee may be knowledgeable about radios and tell his co-worker how to repair a set or where to buy a new one at a discount price. Another may be politically active, and relay information about a candidate, an election, or a local issue. Two workers might discuss last night's ballgame that was on television, the high price of food, or the weather. While all this may be very obvious, it is an

extremely important aspect of workplace communication and the interchange of information.

One personnel director at a large manufacturing firm thought that some of this informal exchange could be heightened, and in a sense formalized, by bringing together people with common or similar interests in specialized areas. For example, he noted that a good number of employees at his firm were members of local boards of education or on local planning and zoning boards in various areas of the state. He believed it would be beneficial to bring these employees together at regular luncheons so they could share their knowledge and experiences, and perhaps at the same time, provide a forum for outside sources of information.

The brief statistical table below indicates that every workplace had some means of disseminating information to workers. Each specific method with examples will be discussed in the following pages.

2. Statistical table

INFORMATION AND EXCHANGE
(service frequency count)

	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
Service	Union	Non-Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Means of communication and/or dissemination	43	28	71	20	11	40	71

3. Narrative of information and exchange services

a) Bulletin boards. Every workplace but one had bulletin boards. In some companies, the notices primarily concerned work related activities. In other cases, unions had their own bulletin boards, and in both instances, there was often a mix of information, ranging from recreation and sports activities to discount buying plans and charter vacation tours. Several personnel directors indicated that permission had to be granted before a notice could be placed on a company board, and one individual emphasized that nothing "controversial" was tolerated. The president of a local union at a large manufacturing firm explained that at his company, the union had to negotiate at the bargaining table before it could get permission to install union bulletin boards at the plant. Thus while bulletin boards appear to be common and an obvious means of information dissemination, complications and conflicts still arise over their existence.

b) Publications, newspapers, magazines. Twenty of the 23 firms and 12 of the 14 unions had some form of newspaper or newsletter which was distributed to employees. These papers ranged in size and scope, with some focusing mainly on the progress of the company and featuring stories about outstanding employees. Others contained the usual fare of birth, death, retirement and anniversary announcements. A large utility company had a yearly four page advertisement of discount purchases, while the January 1973 issue of a food processing company newspaper informed workers about income tax deadlines, asked for blood donations for a fellow employee, informed workers about the telecast of the Presidential inauguration which it was sponsoring and provided residency statistics indicating where company employees live, among other items.

A local union newspaper headlined the annual picnic in a June 1972 issue, reported on state legislation affecting its members, provided credit union news, and included excerpts from the Congressional Record on an anti-busing amendment before the U.S. Senate.

c) Speakers, lectures, and films. Only four firms, all large, had regular programs at noontime and after hours for speakers, films and lectures. A food processing firm, for example, sponsored a monthly seminar, with a speaker knowledgeable about a particular topic as the guest. The range of topics included tax preparation and planning, investment advice, ecology, crime and safety. Another firm had weekly movies for its employees, sometimes showing a feature length film, a travelogue or an educational documentary.

d) Brochures, pamphlets. Only 9 of the 23 firms distributed brochures, pamphlets and other non-work related literature to employees. One company in particular had reading racks located in conspicuous spots at the worksite, including free material on how to obtain a high school diploma, and information on drug abuse, health and leisure time activities, volunteerism, free films available through the company for community organizations and even a booklet entitled "Whatever Happened to the Golden Rule?" Some of these pamphlets were printed by the company and distributed in the community as well, while others were purchased through a firm specializing in "reading rack" materials. This company's material, however, seemed to be the exception rather than the norm. Often materials could be found in personnel offices, but seldom were they distributed to the employee population as a whole. In only two cases did we encounter, for example, companies distributing directories listing social service agencies or community services and organizations located in its area.

e) Library, periodicals. Four firms had libraries on the premises, geared mainly for management and technical personnel and containing professional and technical publications. In one case, however, a library was available that contained a wide variety of fiction and a number of popular magazines which were used extensively by a cross section of the employee population. This library also had a full time staff of four persons.

f) Vocational and educational clearinghouse. See the case study in Chapter IV on the inter-industry service organization serving several firms in a midwest city for an explanation of this centralized clearinghouse for education and job information and assistance.

g) Social service agency fairs, visitations. At one worksite visited, we were told of a recent social service fair. A number of local agencies set up displays and provided information to employees during the noon hour on the services and programs they provide. In discussions with a volunteer service bureau we learned of efforts to promote corporate involvement and recruit volunteers for social service activities in the community. The bureau had already been to one firm in the area and was planning other visits for the purpose of disseminating information and recruitment. See Chapter V for a more detailed discussion of this activity.

4. Concluding comments

The above descriptions provide some idea of the means used at the workplace to disseminate information. The extent of information relating to the variety of needs seemed rather limited in the majority of cases, at least in terms of a formalized exchange. Most personnel directors interviewed held the philosophy that an individual can help himself as long as he has the resources or is provided with the information necessary to assist him in his endeavor. It was evident, however, that they did not often practice what they preached.

Proposition #14: Few personnel directors, managers or employees appear aware of the range and scope of non-work related services offered by or through their company. In no case did we find a detailed comprehensive listing of services provided at the company, let alone in the community.

We had anticipated a more thorough and systematic information system would exist in the work setting, but we found either a lack of interest on the part of management or a presumed self-sufficiency of the employee who knew what his problems were and where he could find the information to aid him in the solution or resolution of his individual agenda. Yet the lack of information available had the potential to encourage dependency, forcing the worker to go to the personnel department for assistance, on the one hand, or in other cases, preventing the worker who was afraid to seek help, from getting the information he needed.

Proposition #15: Many specific informational areas, such as political education, consumer affairs, health and family planning information, among others, appear conspicuous by their absence.

It seems that this absence may be due, in part, to the controversial nature of some of these activities, the lack of concern or involvement on the part of the firm or the inherent difficulties in making this information available. See Chapter V for a more detailed discussion of this issue.

Proposition #16: The informal exchange of information at the workplace appears extensive between employee and employee. This observation appears to be almost axiomatic; empirical evidence could, of course, be obtained detailing who passes on what information in the intricate informal communications network at the workplace.

H. Non-work Related Economic Enhancement

1. Introduction

What forms of financial gain or savings are provided to employees through the workplace besides salary or wages and specific contractual benefits such as insurance and medical coverage or pension plans? Our survey focused on:

> Activities designed to enable the individual to maximize his disposable income through the availability of subsidized commercial services such as banking, savings arrangements, discounts, financial advice, transportation assistance and similar indirect economic assistance.

As the table below indicates, such activities do exist at the workplaces examined in this study, but not with great frequency. The most common items found were consumer discount buying plans, and even in this subcategory, it existed in just over half of the worksites. Credit unions also appeared in many, but not all of the workplaces. The widest range of services designed to provide non-work related economic enhancement were found, as might be expected, at the larger firms.

2. Statistical table

NON-WORK RELATED ECONOMIC ENHANCEMENT
(service frequency count)

	Worker Organization			Industry Type			
Service	Union	Non-Union	Total	Service Public	Service Private	Manufacturing	Total
Commercial services	8	13	21	7	4	10	21
Discount services	17	19	36	2	1	33	36
Financial counseling	8	6	14	6	2	6	14
Investment service	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
Transportation	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Contest, gifts	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total	34	40	74	15	7	52	74

3. Narrative of non-work related economic enhancement

a) Commercial services. Our survey uncovered only two instances where firms provided banking services, cashing checks, accepting deposits or acting as a broker with a local bank.

One large industrial firm provided a unique savings plan, described in the Chapter IV case study. Briefly, employees were allowed to deposit a given amount of money each week, depending on their salary or wage, and received interest plus an extra 50 cents per year on every dollar deposited. If the money was invested in a long term account, the firm paid an even higher dividend.

Credit unions were pervasive and were frequently mentioned as an "accepted" institution by both employees and management. Firms usually provided space if the credit union did not have its own facilities and often payroll deductions were made if the employee so designated. In addition to credit unions, we encountered two instances where employers made loans to employees who were in need of cash. In each instance, it was done informally and arranged through the personnel department. In no case did we find that it was a formal institutionalized service by the employer. We did learn where a substantial number of employees had homes severely damaged because of flooding. The firm provided interest free loans for them to rebuild or repair the damage, loans that the employer did not really expect to recover. This policy, however, was the result of an emergency, and the company official cautioned that it would not be repeated unless such unusual circumstances arose again. In another instance, a personnel director told us that the firm often paves the way for an employee to obtain a loan from a bank. "We have a good reputation as a reputable employer, besides depositing large sums with banks in the city and having several members of the company sitting on the boards of directors," he said. The personnel director described this service as an "intangible benefit" to the company employees.

Several firms provided stock option plans to employees, usually top management, but only one company offered an investment or brokerage service.

Another firm, in the service area and consisting of mainly white collar employees, allowed the workers to use the company computer to develop a profile of stocks for future investment.

One firm provided workers with the option of receiving their pay weekly, biweekly or monthly. This service, called a flexible pay schedule, was practical for the firm because it employed an enormous workforce and had a computerized payroll system.

Another firm operated a real estate brokerage service, providing employees with listings of apartments, homes for sale, and rooms available. Many firms listed such items in the classified section of their house newspaper or on bulletin boards, but this was the only instance we discovered where the firm had an office for this specific purpose on the premises, with individuals paid by the firm to provide assistance to employees.

Finally, a number of firms used a payroll deduction system for charity. In one case, we found an employee association that solicited funds at the plant and determined in what areas the money would be used. In every case but one, the payroll deduction was tied to the local United Fund campaign.

b) Discount services. Three of the firms we surveyed offered discounts to employees on products produced by the company. This low figure might be attributed to the fact that there were several service industries

in our sample and several of the manufacturing firms produced heavy equipment and industrial items that would not be in the realm of consumer goods. Those that did produce consumer goods, however, either had a store or outlet on the premises for the distribution of their wares or ordered the goods for the workers, providing them with a discount ranging from 10% to 25%.

The most prevalent discount service, found in 10 firms consisted of consumer buying plans, either operated under company auspices or run by a private organization that had access to the worksite to promote and advertise its plan. We found instances of workers buying automobiles at discounts, home appliances, and electronic equipment, such as stereos, tape recorders, television sets, and radios. The participation rate from all indications, seemed to be substantial.

Aside from contractual insurance programs, there was one union that offered its members discounts on auto and life insurance, and a small firm which made available, through an outside broker, discount auto insurance.

Group vacation tours, organized by unions or private travel services authorized by the firm, were found in seven companies. In most cases, charter flights at reduced fares were arranged for trips abroad or various parts of the country. Employees were informed about such travel plans by notices on bulletin boards, pamphlets or advertisements in the company newspaper. This service was widely used and appreciated by a substantial number of the workers interviewed.

Five firms maintained subsidized cafeterias on the premises. In each of the cases, food costs were considerably less than on the outside, although the primary reason for the presence of a cafeteria appeared to be the absence of nearby eating facilities, particularly in suburban campus type corporate locations.

Discount tickets to concerts, sports events and cultural activities were provided in five cases, either through the union, the company or an employee association. It was common for groups of employees to charter a bus, for example, to go to a ballgame or the theatre.

Finally, there was one case where an employer, namely a school district, sold used equipment from the home economics room, such as stoves and refrigerators, to employees at half the original price, on a first come, first served basis. Many firms obviously have used equipment that is in decent condition, but it appears that such items are either sold in large quantities rather than to individual employees, or given away to community organizations.

c) Financial counseling. The range of financial counseling, either in the form of making investments, tax assistance or budget planning, was generally of an informal nature, with the worker either seeking advice or attending periodic lectures, seminars or courses offered at the worksite. These services were not very prevalent, although as mentioned previously, there is one firm with an investment plan and others that have savings and stock option programs.

d) Transportation. The Jobs-Residence mismatch, documented among others by the Regional Plan Association for the New York metropolitan area in 1969, shows that there are more white collar jobs in New York City than white collar workers, and a greater number of blue collar workers than blue collar jobs in the central city. This dilemma means that commuting is the norm, but the lack of adequate transportation and the cost involved discourages many workers, particularly the poor. In only one case did we find a company providing bus transportation, and that firm, located in an isolated suburban setting, did so out of dire necessity, to insure that it had an adequate clerical staff, many of whose members could not afford to live in the immediate region.

e) Contests, gifts. Probably the most traditional and paternalistic service with a long history is the granting of a gold watch or a savings bond after 25 years of service. We found this practice still in use at four firms, and in one firm, employees received a plump turkey at Christmas. The same firm ran a monthly sweepstakes for employees. Each worker has the opportunity to pick up a ticket in the company cafeteria, and at the end of the month, ten names were drawn with lucky winners receiving a $100 check.

4. Concluding comments

The most frequently utilized services discovered in the realm of indirect economic assistance was the discount buying plan and credit unions. The reason for their prevalence may be explained by the relative ease of arranging these services, a lack of cost to the firm involved and the low risks pertaining to its sponsorship. In contrast, more complicated commercial services that require administrative staff, a cost to the company, and a risk, such as banking and transportation services, appear infrequently.

H. Conclusion

The service by service description in this chapter, with the accompanying tables, provides a glance and an insight into the range and scope of activities not directly related to work itself that exist in different types of work settings. Throughout the chapter, we have included propositions and hunches that seemed like generalizations worth testing concerning specific service categories. Looking at the eight categories in total, there are additional observations that stand out clearly in our minds. They are:

Proposition #17: Services discharged at or through the workplaces tend to represent relatively "safe" and relatively simple services that can be mounted on an in-house basis. Such services appear favored over complex and many faceted programs.

Bowling leagues, United Fund campaigns, pre-retirement advice, vending machines and picnics are more common than programs dealing with pressing social issues or individual family needs and problems. Programs that attempt to cope with alcoholism, drug treatment, increasing the community's low income housing supply or that deal with political issues or subjects like racism in other than superficial ways tend to be infrequent, although

verbally recognized as important. Yet there appears to be a reluctance on the part of management and oftentime unions to direct energies in these areas, even when the resources are available.

Proposition #18: Most employees and employers appear to view non-work related services as rather low order priorities in conducting their affairs. As one worker put it, "The most important service I can get is my pay envelope," while a personnel director explained, "If we have an economic pinch, a number of services would be the first to go--and there wouldn't be much protest." Many managers feel that services do not necessarily increase motivation or productivity. "When you give a worker something, he thinks he deserves it and then asks for more," a personnel manager said. Most persons interviewed did not differentiate between benefits and services, and often drew a blank when asked what they would like to see in terms of non-work related services, even if conditions were ideal.

Proposition #19: The most discernible lack of service provision appears to be in small establishments. In the private sector, these establishments often appear to be marginal firms which lack capital and resources. Ironically, the workforce at these establishments appear to be precisely those who, judging by our Puerto Rican sub-survey, could most benefit from services. Even in the absence of formal services, such marginal workers might benefit from the presence of co-workers with useful skills and information; but often, even such co-workers are not present for informal assistance.

Proposition #20: Services, where they do exist, seem to float in relative isolation, with few managers or employees aware of the whole range of services available in-house and in the community. Such fragmentation of actual services at the workplace and information about services elsewhere can be overcome as will be explained in Chapter VI.

Proposition #21: There appear pronounced discrepancies between services provided to management on one hand and the rank and file worker on the other. Managers receive relocation assistance, tend to have more freedom on the job to use workplace amenities, receive time-off for personal and civic affairs more readily and tend to receive privileges such as preferred parking spaces and special dining rooms at the company site. By the nature of their jobs, they also appear to have ready access to services denied to others such as legal or income tax assistance through corporation officials, and even, as in one case we encountered, a favored interest rate for a personal account from the bank with which the corporation does business.

Only one firm had an explicit policy that insisted formal services be administered equally to all levels of workers.

IV. INDUSTRY LEADERS AND LAGGARDS

In the last chapter we looked at the separate service categories and activities in an isolated fashion. The five case studies included in this chapter are an attempt to observe the broader context in order to discover what factors contribute to both high and low service provision. In one sense, the picture presented by these five cases veers toward the two extremes, highlighting three "luxury liners" of American industry and a sophisticated business association on the one hand, and on the other, a survey of the Puerto Rican marginal worker receiving few amenities and employees in a small manufacturing firm who have virtually been abandoned. Yet each of these cases puts some flesh on the bones--illustrating the larger context, including the push and pull of the community, the nature of management and labor, the economic condition of the firms and the historical development of services.

The first case focuses on two large manufacturing firms considered trend setters in their city and possibly in American industry. Both workplaces are not unionized, have a long standing tradition of services and are actively involved in their community, partially as a result of intense social pressures and demands.

The second study looks at a company town in the mid-west, and the manufacturing firm that dominates every aspect of this city. It offers an example of a highly profitable firm which has a socially conscious management, and a strong commitment to the community, stemming from a patriarchal chairman who maintains an active day to day role. This company has two independent unions and at the same time has fostered independent employee associations which also provide services.

The third case history delves into an inter-industry service provider, dominated by management and stressing recreation programs, although offering a variety of educational and youth services as well. This association provides an interesting model, especially the means by which it finances its activities.

The last two case studies, as already mentioned, focus on the other side of the spectrum. The Puerto Rican marginal workers sub-survey, conducted in eight small firms in the New York Metropolitan region, typifies a common situation of low wages, tremendous social problems and low service provision. Finally, we have a small manufacturing firm, formerly family owned and now a shell of what it used to be, absorbed by a conglomerate that seems to have little interest in the welfare of its employees.

In all of the case studies, the names of the firms, cities, organizations and persons interviewed have been changed. This has been our practice throughout the report in order to protect the anonymity of our respondents.

A. "Chesterville's Two Industry Leaders"

In Chesterville, New York, we find two large manufacturing firms that could be viewed as trend setters, both in provision of supplemental services to workers and their role in community involvement, particularly with minorities. We will first look at Eastern Industries, an employer of 45,000 persons, and then focus on ZeeFlax, another industrial giant that has maintained a highly visible public image.

1. Eastern Industries

Take an industrial giant which displays a high degree of profit and productivity and has a strong hold over a national and international market. Place it in an urban upstate New York environment, blend in a mixture of paternalism, anti-unionism, care for employee welfare, and enlightened self-interest and you have Eastern Industries, Inc.

Eastern can best be viewed as a city within a city, drawing its work-force from an inner city with an expanding black population and an almost exclusively white multi-county suburban region. The high degree of service provision, ranging from the traditional to the innovative, can be viewed from several perspectives. First, Eastern Industries is the major institutional force in Chesterville. It is the largest employer, the largest taxpayer and the most visible and well-known enterprise. Second, the company realizes that its well being depends on the vitality of the community and its manpower source. Third, the company maintains the philosophy of meeting employee needs, stemming from the belief of its original founder, who sought to develop loyalty to the company--a course that often took an air of paternalism. Finally, there is an overt commitment to keep unions entirely out of the picture, a major reason for the firm's effort to anticipate employee needs and provide services and benefits that match or surpass unionized firms in the region or industry.

a) Employee services. Eastern's extensive provision of non-work related services is typified by the existence of "Building 51," a modern six story employee recreation and entertainment facility. The building contains a gymnasium with two full basketball courts, 20 bowling alleys, a billard room with 17 tables, a 2,200-seat auditorium, a small theatre, club rooms, a convenience shop which sells sundries, a rifle range, exercise room, two subsidized cafeterias, a large dining room and several lounges, including one for retired employees.

There is constant activity in the building, during the weekdays, at nights and on weekends. Club meetings and informal gatherings are always in progress; noontime films are common fare and cultural and social events are the norm rather than the exception. A theatrical group presents two plays a year and a camera club, where employees can receive instruction and borrow equipment, is always busy.

A brief glance at the company's weekly newspaper also offers a view of the variety and scope of activities one might find taking place at the facility. During one week in March of 1973, for example, the calendar of events listed meetings for bridge and chess clubs, a communications club,

the toastmasters club, an aquarium club, a pistol club, a euchre tournament, a retired employees movie, a noon hour movie, a music rehearsal and tryouts for an upcoming play.

An activity sheet distributed to all employees lists 74 different social and athletic activities provided at Building 51 and other company facilities by the Employee Association. These included art classes, an auto racing club, basketball and softball leagues, bocci tournaments, ceramics classes, family nights, clambakes, fashion shows, golf classes and leagues, horseshoes, karate classes, sewing classes, rose and garden club, shuffleboard, square dancing, squash courts, table tennis, a water sports club and tennis classes and leagues.

The Employee Association is run by the company, and organized activities require company approval. Employees belong to the association free of charge, but pay small user fees for some activities.

The association also runs programs for children of employees as well as sponsoring activities for retired workers.

The range of social, athletic and entertainment activities certainly provides employees with more options than could possibly be taken advantage of, and provides an example of pervasive corporate sponsored, non-work related diversions, although it permits only a small degree of employee management.

Eastern's service provision, however, extends beyond the field of recreation and entertainment. One program of interest, for example, is the variety of housing services provided by the firm's real estate department. Employees are offered counseling and leads on rentals and sales as well as information on market conditions, location preferences and financing. Students hired for a limited period are assisted, and an awareness of minority needs appeared to be present. The firm also provides a relocation service, primarily for management, which guarantees the price for the sale of a home, provides a brokerage service and pays moving and house-hunting expenses. Eastern was also active in establishing a housing foundation to construct low and middle income units. This will be discussed under the company's community activities.

The personnel department at Eastern follows a traditional pattern of hiring, placement and referral, but also sees the benefit of using outside parties for specific employee needs. An attorney, for example, comes to the company twice a week for the express purpose of providing free legal advice to employees. This program is extensively used and may soon be expanded. Eastern also contracts with the Visiting Nurses Service, maintaining a staff of 12 nurses who visit homebound employees and retired personnel. Each nurse utilizes a company car and is assigned to a specific geographic area. Active employees are visited on their eighth day of absence for the purposes of verifying illness and determining what assistance is required. The range of services available include physician's visits, free medical care when eligible, funds for private care, referral, financial assistance through a company owned bank and general aid, such as making sure the employee has received his check and/or advice on filing for major medical claims. Similar services are provided to retired employees, who are eligible for a nurse

visit every year and a half, although some retirees are visited more often. They are informed about medicare benefits and given leads to community services available for senior citizens.

Eastern also provides every black employee with the opportunity to be tested for sickle cell anemia, and management was explicit that the information has no bearing on the employment status of those being tested. Any worker may also request and receive a physical examination when he feels the need. The test is thorough and the results are passed on to private or consulting physicians at the worker's request. Workers also have the opportunity to purchase vitamins in the company infirmary at reduced prices.

A variety of training programs, on both the management and vocational level, are offered by the company. Managers and supervisors, for example, are exposed to speed reading, industrial relations seminars and intergroup relations sessions. A film shown at the sessions relates the story of Jimmy Snead, a black employee from the rural south who is enrolled in an apprenticeship program at the plant. The film attempts to sensitize management to latent racist attitudes which may affect their attempts to relate to workers.

Potential high school drop-outs are recruited and participate in a work study program at the plant, with close cooperation emphasized between supervisors and school counselors.

After efforts to provide basic adult education through a private institution and later with its own staff, Eastern shifted gears and contracts with the city Board of Education, which now provides instructors at company locations. Some of the courses are offered during company time. The program encompasses basic literacy training, up to the eighth grade level.

Eastern also maintains an enlightened attitude toward drug addiction, viewing it not as a disciplinary problem but as a medical problem. Employees are encouraged to seek help and are referred to a medical clinic for treatment.

Parking is provided free of charge at several company locations, except in the downtown site, where employees pay a fee of $1 per week on a first come first served basis. The personnel office also counsels widows and provides a host of educational information to employees who wish to return to school. The company maintains a tuition refund plan, which presently is generally work related in nature, with a certain degree of flexibility.

b) Eastern Industries and the community. Eastern has maintained a posture of community leadership, and management personnel will often refer to the fact that the company's founder was instrumental in establishing the Chesterville's first Chamber of Commerce and Community Chest. However, it was not until the late 1960s, when faced with riots in its city and demands from a militant black community organization that Eastern moved from the role of impartial observer to one of change agent and catalyst, especially in terms of the needs of the growing black population in the city.

The initial phase of Eastern's involvement was focused on developing commercial leadership in the city's minority community. The company's community affairs department began efforts to assess the extent of population

shifts affecting the city and conducted a study which indicated that a majority of people migrating to the city came from a particular town in Florida. In conjunction with the State of New York, Eastern dispatched personnel to Florida to evaluate the school system and living conditions of the migrants in an effort to develop a comprehensive picture of the skills of the new arrivals as well as what supportive services might be required to upgrade them. While this effort obviously benefited the company, giving it more knowledge of its potential new employees, the information was certainly useful in understanding the needs of the black population. Recent census figures show that the black population of the city increased from 5,000 in 1930 to 50,000 in 1970, with the major growth taking place in the 1960s.

Eastern also initiated a special corporation for minority employment in 1967 in the aftermath of riots in the black community, with its goal the development of contact between community groups and city employers. The relationship between Eastern and the new company involves primarily the lending of financial, technical and support services. Representatives from Eastern sit on the Board of Directors of the company as do eight other business and industry leaders, along with members of the community. The agency is supported financially by contributions from 30 city firms which pay $1 per capita annually based on their total employee population. Additional funds are often contributed for special purpose programs. During its six years of existence, the program has placed 10,000 minority persons in jobs, primarily with Eastern and ZeeFlax, the other major manufacturing company in Chesterville.

In addition to finding employment for minority persons, the program has supplied sensitivity training to more than 5,000 people in business and industry; sponsored a program whereby 50 young persons aged 15 to 20 are hired to work with the city police department (Eastern contributed $50,000 to this program); and a summer employment program, with 12 city companies annually supplying $150,000 as a fund to hire youngsters.

In addition, Eastern has supplied technical assistance, materials and a place to retail products for a junior achievement program run by a group of Catholic Nuns in a low income neighborhood. The company also originally established a housing foundation to build low income housing, senior citizen housing and to teach rehabilitation techniques to potential high school dropouts, providing them with an income and a new skill. The program is now run by the corporation, and other city firms have recently begun sponsoring similar activities.

Community interviews revealed that Eastern has committed itself to sponsor Urban League manpower training programs financially and to hire a percentage of each trainee class. They have established a direct linkage with the Urban League, and assist the League in efforts to counsel and follow through on their trainees' adjustment at the workplace.

2. ZeeFlax Corporation

Eastern Industries is joined in Chesterville by ZeeFlax Corporation, a manufacturer of electronic equipment. Like Eastern, it does business in an international market, has shown high profits and receives substantial

government contracts. Whether from enlightened self-interest, pressure from Eastern's example of good public relations, anti-unionism, the modern image that it tries to project, or a host of other factors, including community pressure, ZeeFlax has a variety of programs that deserve mention.

The ZeeFlax corporate headquarters is located in downtown Chesterville, and unlike many of its suburban counterparts, it does not operate a company cafeteria or dining area facility. The absence of this facility is not indicative of an oversight, but rather a philosophical orientation of the ZeeFlax management which refuses to compete for provision of such services with local entrepreneurs. A direct result of this policy is the use of a leased restaurant-bar, and other public facilities in downtown Chesterville by ZeeFlax employees. The restaurant-bar is built facing a skating rink owned and operated by ZeeFlax. During the lunch hour, employees and their relatives use the rink for skating under the supervision of a company employed coach.

a) ZeeFlax recreational association. In addition to the skating rink, ZeeFlax provides a number of recreational activities to its employees free of charge or for a minimal cost. A major instrument in recreational service provision is the ZeeFlax Recreational Association (ZRA) located on site at major ZeeFlax installations. ZRA operates facilities for use in physical development and recreation of ZeeFlax employees and is open throughout each working day and early evening. In addition to conducting a formal physical fitness program the Association sponsors baseball, golf and basketball tournaments. The basketball league includes teams from the community as well as from within the company. ZRA publishes a newsletter monthly.

b) Social service leave. Another major program is the Social Service League Program which enables ZeeFlax employees, 20 persons, to take off one year and work at various activities. Among the activities in which these persons participate during the current year are: science groups in school systems, church groups, counseling in various community groups and as engineer for small towns.

c) Ombudsman. One of the major innovative programs at ZeeFlas is the corporate ombudsman initiated in August 1972. Stephen Blaine is the first ombudsman at ZeeFlax and possibly the only one in a major American corporation. Blaine's duties are restricted to employees of the ITG (Information Technology Group), which does not include the sales and marketing employees. Steve is a new employee of ZeeFlax (18 months) and was formerly Manager for Urban Affairs. He was previously with American Airlines, holds a law degree, and has taken graduate work in psychology. He was also director of the Urban League in Chesterville.

As corporate ombudsman, Blaine's duties were described as possessing "broad powers to inquire into complaints against administrative officials and make periodic reports on their findings." More specifically, he is charged with the following tasks: "(1) investigating employee complaints, and making recommendations; (2) continuously reviewing administrative practice in Chester County and developing programs to correct deficiencies, and (3) helping evaluate the progress of the Employees Resources Program in ITG and other Chester County operations." Blaine has interpreted his responsibility as primarily 1 and 2 and has developed a sequential view which leads

to a review of policies and procedures. Examples of Blaine's reviews which have been a direct outcome of his duties as ombudsman are his study and recommendation for modification of tuition aid, job posting, the credit union and a management development program.

The workload for the ombudsman was anticipated at 100 cases for the first year and is currently close to this figure. A breakdown of the caseload was skewed on the side of complaints from Black and women employees.

Major requests or complaints have focused on performance appraisals, attitudes toward women and upward mobility for various employees. For example, a female employee at one company location was counseled by personnel under a career development plan and informed that she had the potential to work in personnel. Her position at the time was that of secretary. She signed up for a college psychology course under the tuition aid plan and was told that the course was not job related. The issue was brought to the attention of the ombudsman, who after fact finding, decided in favor of the employee and directed that the program of tuition reimbursement should be changed because it tended to discriminate against women.

The decisions of the ombudsman are binding and he may hold a hearing and engage in factfinding. Referrals are normally made through the employee's supervisor except when they involve personnel. Complaints regarding personnel may be referred directly to the ombudsman.

d) Economic development. An example of ZeeFlax involvement in economic development in Chesterville is a joint venture ZeeFlax is undertaking with a minority organization, Chester Broadcasting, to secure FCC licensing for operation of an FM radio station. Chester Broadcasting is headed by an attorney who, in recognition of the extremely limited time devoted to minority oriented programming, 7 or 8 hours per week, began to pursue a license, capital and location for an FM station.

After difficulties in securing assistance, the group approached ZeeFlax and received assistance in the form of engineers to study equipment requirements, lawyers to study and assist in the preparation of the license request, physical space to locate their antenna and transformer. In addition, the company has agreed to provide a $50,000 loan to begin operation.

e) Corporate service policy. The corporate service policy of ZeeFlax was articulated by every person interviewed and while vague at times, emphasized the duty of the firm to do more than manufacture products. A major proof of the service focus of the firm is in various programs and activities such as the attempt to design a method of evaluating the performance of individuals who are up for promotion. A social service index will be developed to reflect the involvement of the person in community or social activities outside of the work setting. In addition to the social service index, the company has a Good Government program which is designed to encourage and attempt to inform employees of the need for political involvement. The program will encourage voter registration. The projection for this program is that it will reach all of ZeeFlax's employees at a cost of $1.21 per employee (based on a domestic employment of 50,000 in 1976). The program originated in California worksites and has been tested in a number of cities. Projected costs for the program over the next four years will be $64,000.

Three other indices of concern of ZeeFlax for other than strictly profit making aspects is their participation in an awareness program for their employees aimed at sensitivity to racial prejudices. The program is presently run by a black social worker. Another program is the effort by ZeeFlax to increase its black employment to 11 percent of its total workforce or a percentage equal to the percentage of Blacks in the American population. In addition, the company makes substantial contributions to a variety of minority and community groups and organizations.

3. Concluding comments

A secretary with seven years' experience at ZeeFlax, when asked what she thought about the company, made a telling comment. "The company allowed me to go out and talk to an Urban League secretarial training class," and she said, "but while I could tell them ZeeFlax will hire them, it will not upgrade them. Compared to the need, ZeeFlax does not do enough."

What is enough? In terms of community involvement and worker services, both Eastern and ZeeFlax are leaders, providing a great deal more than the majority of American companies.

Eastern, in many ways is atypical, in terms of its huge workforce and predominant economic function in its community. It has followed an historical model which ranges on a continuum of parochial paternalism to community-oriented catalytic agent, the latter function accelerated by severe social problems and pressures.

If Eastern Industries is suggestive of a model, it is the model of industry leader in organizing efforts of other firms in the community and by offering such a range of worker services that those companies able to compete are forced to provide similar amenities. One explanation for the high service provision is surely to discourage unionization in both firms. Eastern and ZeeFlax have also come to the pragmatic realization that problems in their labor shed have a significant impact on the workplace and their goal of making a profit.

B. Wahoot: Enlightened Company Town

Wahoot, U.S.A., a small midwestern city of 27,000 persons, located in the midst of flat, monotonous plains and cornfields, is the unlikely home of Mamouth Motors, one of the world's largest independent producers of engines. Wahoot, for all intents and purposes, signifies Mamouth Motors, which employs nearly 10,000 persons. Mamouth, in turn, is synonymous with the name of J. J. Peabody, the 62-year-old chief executive officer of the firm and a benevolent, socially committed godfather, referred to by his hand picked corporate executives as "the chairman"--a man whose wealth and influence pervades almost every aspect of life in this fairly prosperous community.

Wahoot, located in a county of 57,000 persons, is an industrial and commercial center for a rural region, lying in a triangle formed by 3 large metropolitan centers, ranging in distance from 42 to 90 miles from Wahoot.

There are a number of manufacturing firms in Wahoot employing approximately 16,000 persons, with Mamouth Motors, as mentioned, responsible for 60 percent of this employment. The city also is the home of a muffler manufacturer, employing 2,000 persons and a juvenile furniture manufacturer, which has a workforce of approximately 1,500. There are 66 firms that employ 50 persons or less, 14 firms that have 50 to 250 employees and 4 others that employ more than 250 besides the 3 largest already mentioned.

Wahoot experienced its rapid growth period between 1940 and 1963, with employment rising from 3,700 to 13,000, payrolls from eight million to 93 million for industrial companies; retail sales jumping from 7 million to 61 million and total population increasing from 11,000 to 24,750.

Between 1964 and 1969, employment in the city increased by about one-third, caused by the movement of several firms into the city and the expansion of Mamouth Motors. Unemployment is not severe, but certainly prevalent. According to Mamouth officials, there are 2,000 applicants for every 400 job openings, although many of the applicants are working and simply wish to be employed by Mamouth because of the added benefits and better pay scale.

Wahoot, founded in 1821, has a mayor and council form of government, two banks with combined assets of $170 million and two Savings and Loan institutions with combined assets of $112 million. The county school district operates 21 elementary schools, 3 junior high schools and 2 high schools. There are 132 churches in the county and 4 parochial schools. The county also has a 300-bed hospital, located in Wahoot, 55 physicians and shortly will have an industrial health center sponsored by Mamouth Motors. The city also has 10 parks, its own local newspaper, 2 local radio stations, 2 18-hole golf courses and a 9-hole golf course, an arts guild, a municipal airport and a wide range of community and social service agencies, including the Foundation for Youth, the Retirement Foundation, Opportunity Center, a facility for the handicapped, community action (CAP) organization, legal services for the poor, community day care, head start, etc.

A 1970 study indicated that during the 1960s the population in the county had increased by 8,200, while 5,600 new jobs had been created. However, less than 4,000 housing units had been built and vacancy rates dropped to 1.2 percent in 1969. Commuting patterns also changed. In 1960, 3,700 workers or 19 percent of the workforce commuted in from outside the county while in 1970, nearly 6,900 workers, or 28 percent of the workforce were commuters.

1. Mamouth in brief

Established 52 years ago, Mamouth Motors has grown by leaps and bounds since World War II, increasing its manufacturing space from 300,000 to over 3 million square feet today. Another 1 million feet will be added by the end of the year, including a new 568,000 foot plant.

Mamouth is heavily international in manufacturing and distribution. It operates plants in Scotland, England, and has a joint venture for the manufacture of engines in India. The company also has license agreements in Japan and Mexico. In all, Mamouth has sales, service or manufacturing

representation in 98 countries, and is now diversifying outside the automotive industry.

In recent years its annual investment for capital equipment has ranged between $4 million and $12 million. Consolidated sales for 1971 were $492 million, making Mamouth one of the 250 largest U. S. corporations. In 1972 sales rose to $521 million.

At the end of 1972, there were 16,509 employees world-wide of the company compared with 15,614 at the end of 1971. Employment costs totaled approximately $162 million in 1972 or 31 percent of net sales compared with approximately $146 million or 30 percent in 1971. Employment costs include payments for salaries and wages and fringe benefits, including holidays, vacations, retirement plans, insurance, social security and other benefits. In 1972, the company reported net earnings of 8.2 million dollars.

To this geographic, community and economic setting, it is important to add the company's commitment to "corporate responsibility," which directs its efforts in the areas of corporate philanthropy, public affairs, governmental relations and community relations. The company's 1972 annual report shows an enlightened realization that business depends on more than just manufacturing a product, a philosophy that seems to be adhered to. For example, the annual report states: "We have a responsibility to use part of our resources to respond to the needs of the society which gives us our charter." Mamouth also commits itself, at least in print, to "re-examine constantly the extent to which we promote and affirm humane living" and to achieving population parity in the workforce by hiring minorities.

This philosophy is largely carried out, as will be evidenced by the wide range of worker services and the extent Mamouth has involved itself in community activities. The major factors for this involvement can be attributed to the unique geographic setting of Wahoot, the high profit, and oligarchical nature the company holds, and the presence of the Chairman, who continues to reside in the city and takes an active day to day interest in the company.

2. The chairman and the foundations

J. J. Peabody's presence is felt everywhere in town, despite the fact that he is known to consciously try to submerge his influence and direct control. His personal wealth is estimated at over $100 million. He retains controlling interests in the largest bank in the region, with assets of $136 million. The Mamouth Industries Foundation dispenses five percent of the company's pretax profits to a variety of national and local organizations, concentrating heavily on racial justice and leadership development of minorities. In 1971, $683,865 was donated in contributions ranging from $100 to $60,000. The company, in addition to the foundation's grants, donated another $509,000, including $108,000 to the local community chest, $50,000 for educational support programs for employees and $175,014 in architects' fees for the design of school buildings in Wahoot. This last grant is part of a continuing special program which has brought some of the world's most noted architects to Wahoot.

Funds are also dispensed through the Peabody Foundation, the philanthropic arm of the bank, which donates money to almost every social service and community organization in the city and county.

Peabody also channels his funds into the Peabody Management Company, which is now in the process of planning a new town on a 1,200 acre site several miles outside Wahoot. This project, to take shape over an 8 to 10 year period, is expected to supply 1,000 new units of housing. Peabody has also donated a 1.5 million, 18 hole championship golf course to the city in 1964 and has been the instrumental force behind an urban renewal program for the downtown area.

Peabody is a fourth generation member of a family which made its fortune in real estate, banking, electric railroads, corn starch, refining and most recently, Mamouth Motors. He is the closest one might find to a model patriarchical businessman. His interests, however, have extended beyond Wahoot and his philanthropic activities. He has been a member of several Presidential commissions, and he was the first lay president of a central inter-church board and the director of several corporations and financial institutions.

With this background in mind, we will turn to the non-work related services provided to Mamouth employees and the company's role in the community.

3. Services

a) The Recreation Association. The Mamouth Employees' Recreation Association is an autonomous employee organization which owns and operates a 353 acre recreation facility and coordinates a comprehensive program of recreation and social activities for the nearly 10,000 employees of the company. The Association's yearly quarter of a million dollar budget comes from 55 vending machine banks located throughout the company plants and minimal user fees charged for the programs run by the organization. The history and evolution, management and financial arrangements of the Association may prove to be an interesting model for examination of non-work related services.

--History and evolution.

For years, Mamouth Motors, like many American companies, spent thousands of dollars on yearly picnics and parties for employees, using profits from the vending machines at the plants. In 1958, according to several accounts, a group of employees approached the management of the company and asked that vending machine profits be allowed to accumulate for the expressed purpose of someday purchasing a park site for employees' leisure time activities. The company agreed and by late 1959, cooperated in establishing a non-profit, incorporated employee organization run by a board of directors elected by the employees.

In 1961, the company hired a consultant to do a survey of employee interests and to select suitable sites for a proposed park and recreation facility. By 1963 enough money had been accumulated to purchase a 313 acre

farm seven miles outside the city and a master plan for the park was submitted by the consultant. In August of 1963, the company also agreed to pay for a full-time recreation director to assist in administering and supervising the park and recreation program. In that same year, the Board of Directors hired a full-time park superintendent. Several years later, the organization purchased another 40 acres for the park and in the past ten years, has steadily increased the number of varieties of activities--building a swimming pool, softball fields, boating facilities, tennis courts, go-cart tracks, a model airplane strip, a campground, a trap and rifle range, pony riding facilities and a miniature golf course. Besides leagues, tournaments and free play, the recreation program, has several special interest clubs and a special events program, offering such activities in 1970 as adult education courses for employees and their families; art shows, craft programs, a fourth of July celebration attended by 27,996 persons in 1972; movies, square dances, a horse show, style, hobby and puppet shows. Classes for sports activities such as golf, tennis and soccer clinics, in addition to swimming lessons and an umpires school were held.

--Structure and management.

The Association's Board of Directors is composed of five shop (production) employees, two office hourly employees, two exempt (managerial) level employees and one management representative. Each of the employee groups elects its representatives. The management representative is appointed by the company, and is presently the man who was the association's first recreation director. In interviews with five persons, either on the board of directors or actively involved in the association affairs, the impression was conveyed that the company neither controls nor pressures the board in any direct fashion. The board has committees, manages the finances from the vending machines and makes policy decisions concerning the playland. There has been a tendency for board members to serve more than one term, and the management representative felt that the bylaws should be changed to limit any individual from serving more than two, two-year terms in order to continually get "new blood," as he put it, into the association's management. The company still pays the salary of the recreation director, and has at least two persons attached to the personnel department who work with the association, exerting their own, and perhaps some company influence, but not a great deal. The association pays a bookkeeper, the park superintendent and seven assistant grounds keepers. It also hires 15 employees' children to work in the summer. Thus, the board of directors has jurisdiction over personnel, financial arrangements, administrative decisions and decisions over construction or addition of facilities and activities.

The company has two unions, one for the production workers and a second for the office hourly workers. Both are independent unions, but it was the impression that the unions neither opposed the creation of the association nor presently interfere with it in any way. It would seem that the creation of an autonomous organization of workers would threaten the status of the union, but evidently this has not been the case. In many ways they make the appearance of company unions, although last year there was a 57 day strike at the company. Salaries and benefits are exceedingly good, in terms of American industry, and far better than other sources of employment in the region.

In some cases, the association committee cooperates with the union for some programs, but the board strongly resents any union interference on its turf.

In the 1971-72 fiscal year, the association had a budget of $341,325, spending $116,730 for wages and salaries; $66,670 for operating and general expenses; $50,075 for recreation and programs; $42,000 for projects and new equipment; $33,850 for general and administrative expenses; $30,000 for the capital improvements fund and $2,000 for equipment accrual. This budget is financed by profits from the vending machines. A vending committee puts out bids periodically and selects vendors on the basis of the vendor's service ability and the amount of commissions paid by the vendors. The company has maintained control over the vending program by having the contractual agreements between the vendors and the Company with the signature endorsements by the Association Board Chairman. All funds, however, are turned over directly to the association. Due to economic pressures, profits have not been as high as hoped, and a consultants' report recently recommended that vending machine product prices be increased five cents, which they estimate will increase overall income by approximately $145,000 per year.

b) Employee combined charities fund. In 1956, the company initiated an employee charitable contribution fund in response to employee demands for a payroll deduction program that would satisfy their charitable commitments. The employees each year select a board of six members, composed of two shop, two office and two exempt or managerial employees, who organize and run the campaign. The company pays the administrative, collection and promotional costs. The employees designate the geographic area where they would like the money to go. In the sixteen years it has been operating, $2 million has been collected. The company also donates its own separate monetary gift.

Employees have been given some status and control over their contributions, and the company has divested itself of certain responsibilities that it had previously, while still maintaining the function of overseer and big brother. Nevertheless, large sums of money are raised and some very worthy social service and community organizations are supported. If it serves as a model for worker participation it also preempts the union, and follows a policy pattern that the company, either unwittingly or premeditatively has set out upon.

c) Wahoot Occupational Health Association (WOHA). WOHA is a cooperative program among 13 Wahoot firms, sponsored and initially financed by Mamouth Motors for the purpose of supplying a facility and medical staff for industrial health needs. Mamouth is building a medium sized infirmary and providing the start-up costs of the program, and has enlisted other companies to join in the venture, with each paying a fee based on the proportion of workers using the facility. It is anticipated that the health center will be self-supporting, and run by a board comprised of representatives from each participating firm, although administered by a physician. Mamouth has agreed to maintain the books. The medical center will provide the following services: occupational injuries and illnesses, pre-employment physical examinations; periodic physicals; consultations at the center with employees and on site plant inspections and consultations.

This program is obviously work related, less expensive in the long run for the company and more efficient. But it does serve as a model for companies in a limited geographic area, each having similar needs, and pooling their resources, with the impetus coming from the big father, to provide a service. Certainly this model could be applied to non-work related services, ranging from the educational learning and development center approach, to a variety of other supplemental services.

The long term goal of this program, according to one corporate executive, is to expand the service to provide some form of limited care for employees and their families aside from the industrial care.

d) Mamouth Motors Employee Development Center. The Mamouth Employee Development Center is basically a training center to prepare "disadvantaged" persons for employment and a counseling and referral service for hourly manufacturing employees. As an arm of the company's personnel department, the center is moving in the direction of providing educational and supervisory training programs that parallel career development programs usually provided for the managerial class. While most of the Center's endeavors are clearly work related, the counseling program deserves special mention because of its important non-work overtones.

There are two full time counselors who deal with the work and non-work related problems, with the emphasis on very short term consultation and support leading to referral, if necessary. One of the counselors said 75 percent of the cases he handles are non-work related, people with problems ranging from marital and family situations to alcoholism and people who just need someone to talk to. He said the average client age is about 25, and speculated that the older worker might be skeptical of the service and would be more likely to confide in a buddy.

Formal ties have been established with the local mental health center, which sends in professional psychologists once a week to evaluate and discuss various cases with the counselors. The program refers people to the center who need long term treatment, and arranges for reimbursement, through the company health plan, of 50 percent of the costs over $50. For alcoholics, employee AA sponsors are found and numbers of men have been sent to detoxification facilities at the company expense, with 2/3 pay continued during the period of hospitalization. At this point, the nature of the counseling is "crisis counseling," as one development center counselor put it, but efforts have been made to follow up on those who had problems.

e) Education programs. The company has a variety of educational programs. The Tuition Refund Program, for example, covers 100 percent of tuition for courses taken at accredited colleges, universities and high schools to a maximum of $400 a semester. The company will also pay 80 percent of the tuition fees up to $400 a year for courses taken from accredited correspondence schools. Courses do not have to be work related, employees must seek prior approval from the personnel department and pass the course in order to get the refund. Approximately $35,000 in tuition refunds were paid in 1972. According to one employee, the exempt workers tend to utilize the program more heavily than hourly workers.

--The Sons and Daughters Scholarship Program.

This program awards approximately 15 scholarships a year to sons and daughters of Mamouth employees, ranging from $100 to $1,500, based on financial need. Presently 56 children benefit from this program. Last year there were 76 qualifying applicants for about 15 scholarships. The coordinator of the program noted that while it causes good will for the recipients, those who do not receive the scholarship become disgruntled, and thus the program, while doing some good, also causes discontent. There is also a graduate fellowship program, ranging from $3,000 a year for a single person to $4,200 for a married man with three children. The grant is actually a loan, but if the employee returns to the company after graduation, he does not have to repay the money.

--Educational Matching Grants Program.

The firm contributes a sum equal to the gift made by an employee to any accredited educational institution. Contributions are restricted to a minimum of $10 and a maximum of $500 for any one donor in any one calendar year. Another program, the Employees Scholarship Program, provides scholarships towards a bachelor's degree to employees with at least two years of company service and under 30 years of age. Two four year scholarships are awarded each year, ranging from $1,900 for a single person to $3,800 for a married person with more than two children. The company, in addition, runs a Distributor Matching Scholarship Program for any participating distributorship employee's son or daughter.

Work related courses are often held at the plant site in a variety of technical fields, and as mentioned earlier, non-work related courses, with cassettes and video tapes, are planned for the resource center.

f) Savings plan. The Mamouth Motors Savings Plan, established in 1960, provides company employees with a voluntary savings program. The company agrees to supplement each individual's annual savings with contributions of up to a 50 percent return. The plan specifies a minimum and a maximum amount, which is deducted from the employee's pay check if he joins the plan. There is also a reserve fund, which is an investment fund for employees, with deposits made during a two week period and usually yielding a higher rate of return than the normal savings plan.

g) Retirement program. The company is in the planning stages of a pre-retirement and post retirement program. The former will be geared toward employees 55 and older who are nearing retirement. Husband and wife will be invited for small group evening sessions to discuss their needs and desires and to provide information on benefits and referral plus the establishment of programs to meet their needs. There are 700 employees aged 55 and over. The post retirement program will be run through the employee association, with hopes of establishing an organization of retired employees who will plan and run their own activities using association facilities if needed. There will also be attempts to provide information on housing, community activities, and various services available to senior citizens, plus contract changes and new benefits that they are entitled to. There are 320 retired employees living in the area.

4. Concluding comments

There was a strong feeling among management people interviewed that services were necessary and should be expanded, although they realize that these services will not necessarily increase worker motivation or increase productivity. They are presently engaged in several work redesign plans and methods of increasing job satisfaction. They also are fully aware of the role they play in the community. In both instances, the activity borders and often crosses the line of paternalism, a fact of life that is generally accepted in the community and among the workers. But besides its unique position in the community, and its active chairman, Mamouth's economic position, with high profits, capital intensification, government contracts and a large share of its market allows it to engage in such activities. Thus while it may be atypical, many of its programs for workers serve as illustrative models of what a company can do under favorable circumstances.

C. The Industrial Service Association

This report focuses primarily on non-work related services provided to the employees of the Associated Factories of Illium, a medium sized mid-west city, through a non-profit organization created in 1922 known as the Industrial Service Association (ISA). Although there may be other kinds of educational, recreational or social activities offered through individual factories and businesses in the Illium area, the results of interviews and investigations presented here were designed to surface attitudes and reactions primarily to programs sponsored by the ISA, a non-profit organization set up specifically for the:

> . . . promotion of the general welfare by bringing together the employees of the factories of Illium for their mutual benefit, socially, physically, mentally and morally, and to cooperate with all agencies interested in the improvement of conditions in our city. (Articles of Incorporation, Industrial Fellowship League, 1917)

1. History and Structure of ISA

The Industrial Service Association was the result of a consolidation of two separate organizations which had been set up by industrial leaders of Illium around the turn of the century. In 1901 a group of vehicle manufacturers organized themselves into a coalition of business leaders called the Associated Factories of Illium. They subsequently organized the Illium Vehicle Factories Mutual Benefit Association. Early activities of this group consisted mainly of provision of insurance benefits to employees. Some recreational programs were sponsored, but these were not the main business of the Association.

In 1916, A. B. Bandersnatch, a prominent and wealthy businessman, as first president of the Illium Y.M.C.A. encouraged the formation of an industrial branch of the Y.M.C.A. This branch was established as the Industrial Fellowship League in 1917. This group sponsored recreation activities, classes and job training programs. The Manufacturers Association of Illium

provided funding for the League, and awarded this organization the candy and tobacco concessions in the plants which were members of the association. Money from these concessions was used to support its programs.

In 1922 the Industrial Fellowship League and the Illium Vehicle Manufacturers Mutual Benefit Association were consolidated into one organization, the Industrial Service Association.

a) Evolution of ISA programs. Many of the early insurance programs of the ISA were dropped as they began to be replaced by social security and group insurance programs negotiated between the unions and individual plants. The bulk of the educational activities originally offered through the ISA were taken over by what is now a prominent adult education program funded through the Bandersnatch Foundation. However the ISA retained its role as the only organization in the Illium area which functioned specifically to service the "general welfare" of the employees of the factories of Illium through the provision of non-work related services to industrial workers. Yet the evolution of the programs offered through the ISA has moved consistently away from "life support" types of educational, insurance, counseling and other services toward more pure recreational and leisure time activities.

The forces that shaped this changing direction can only be speculated on here. The Bandersnatch Foundation has moved in and taken over the vast majority of educational activities offered in Illium that are not part of the public school system, from kindergarten through post-retirement classes. Other employee benefits, specifically insurance, medical care, pensions, and others, have become services to be bargained for through union negotiations with individual factories. Other services have increasingly been provided through other emerging public and private service organizations. For example, until this year the ISA has offered the most comprehensive and widely used veterans counseling program in the Illium area. Now they are beginning to phase this program out, as the ISA Managing Director explained, because "more and more groups are getting into veterans counseling, so we no longer need to be involved in this area."

Although the ISA has dropped most of its educational and social service programs, the members and staff of the ISA view their organization as a forerunner and pace setter for the Illium area for provision of these kinds of services.

While many of the programs offered through the ISA have changed over the 51 years of their operation, the structure of the ISA has remained basically the same, as has their relationship with the Manufacturers Association, and the Associated Factories of Illium.

b) Structure of the ISA. All of the employees of the Associated Factories of Illium are eligible consumers of ISA programs. Employees of these factories say that they "belong" to the ISA, although it is not clear exactly what this means. The Managing Director stated there are 100 active, dues paying members. These are mostly high level management people who are employed in the twenty factories which belong to the Manufacturers Association. These twenty factories employ 75,000 people, which comprise 90% of the employed wage earners in Potlatch County. Thus 90% of the wage earners in Potlatch County "belong" to the ISA.

What this "belonging" means in practical terms is that they can take part in any ISA sponsored event or program, for a small fee, determined by the ISA Board. Many, but not all of the events sponsored by the ISA are open to the general public. Those who do not "belong" to the ISA pay a larger admission price or fee for participating. These events are primarily programs such as travelogues, concerts, circuses, the Boat and Trailer Show and other special events sponsored by the ISA at their auditorium or at the ISA sports arena. While all of the employees of the Associated Factories of Illium "belong" to the ISA, it is the dues paying membership that actually governs the operations of the organization.

c) Management of ISA operations. Out of the 100 management level persons who work for the Associated Factories of Illium and are dues paying members of the ISA, 36 are elected to a Board of Trustees. This Board is the formal governing body. It governs primarily through a ten-person executive committee and the managing director, the eleventh member of this committee. The present managing director said that the only formal relationship between the ISA and the Manufacturers Association is the granting of food and vending concessions at all of the plants belonging to the Association. This automatically makes all employees in these plants eligible to participate in ISA programs. However, there is a strong informal tie between the management of the ISA and the leadership of the Manufacturers Association, with the Board of the Manufacturers Association acting as an advisory group to the ISA Board of Trustees.

The ISA also has standing committees in the areas of recreation, education, social services and finances. Although the ISA has a close "advisory" relationship to the Manufacturers Association, all of its services, and capital programs are self supporting. The money comes mostly through the vending and cafeteria operations run by the ISA at all of the plants belonging to the Associated Factories. This aspect of ISA operations appears to be well managed, and avoids ISA dependence on the industries, foundations, and government for support or subsidies which could be potentially less stable than the vending operation.

Both the vending and cafeteria operations, along with some catering and other food services, and the social, educational and recreational side of ISA services, are operated by the same management group. Although the ISA seems to manage this split fairly well, the managing director admitted there was some difficulty in operating simultaneously these two very different kinds of animals, a food service and a "human" service operation, one of which supports the other financially. The ISA does charge a small service fee for its recreation services, but this is based more on the philosophy that people appreciate what they are getting more if they have to pay something for it, than a real need for these fees to supplement the money taken in by the vending operations.

2. Range of ISA services

The ISA brochures state that the organization offers three types of services for the employees of the Associated Factories of Illium. These are categorized as Recreation, Education and Social Services. These will be described individually beginning with "Social" Services.

a) Social services. The main program in this area sponsored by the ISA is the ISA Veterans Counseling Center, where the ISA claims that over 160,000 veterans have received assistance since it began in 1944. The kinds of counseling veterans receive include how to apply for and get the G.I. bill, college placement, how to apply for a V.A. home loan, how to obtain hospitalization and other insurance benefits from V.A., job counseling and placement.

A newer ISA program in the area of social services is the ISA New Horizon Drop-in Center for Retirees. The Drop-in Center offers a place for retired workers of the Associated Factories to play cards, pool, bowl, and attend bridge classes and other social activities. They also run a retirement counseling program, offering guidance on Social Security benefits, how to apply for low-cost housing, Medicare and Medicaid benefits and how to utilize other social services available for the aging.

The remaining three ISA sponsored "social" services relate primarily to the youth of the Illium area. These are ISA Safetyville, the Children's Farm and Cotton Candy Lodge.

b) Youth services. Safetyville is a miniature city equipped with "miniature electric Buicks and Chevrolets" which children from five to ten years old drive, while "observing scaled down traffic signals and signs." The ISA cooperates with the Illium police, to have officers come to Safetyville to teach children "pedestrian safety and responsible driving habits." The Children's Farm is located at Kilgore Trout Lake, an ISA operated family recreation area which was built for the purpose of providing "children with an opportunity to see, touch and feed typical farm animals." They also have hayrides, and sleigh rides in the winter.

Candy Cotton Lodge is a Maple Syrup Farm owned by the ISA, but used primarily by the Big Brothers of Greater Illium, who take "disadvantaged" children out to the Lodge to tap the trees, enjoy the "homemade maple syrup which is served with pancakes and sausage at the Lodge," and interact with these children in a nicer environment than the inner-city of Illium.

c) Educational services. The educational services presently being provided through the ISA consist primarily of liaison and facilitating functions between employees, or dependents of employees of the Associated Factories and the educational programs offered in the Illium area. The ISA Vocational Services acts as a clearing house for information concerning educational and job opportunities for employees and dependents. This branch of ISA also provides vocational counseling and aptitude testing for young people, or employees who have been laid off or want to change jobs. In addition to these services, the ISA does apprentice testing of young people who feel that they would like to become apprenticed in a certain type of job. Vocational Services gives them a series of tests designed to find out what skills they need to acquire to qualify for the various apprenticeship programs offered through the Associated Factories. They then refer the youth to either a Bandersnatch program or a public school vocational training program. Once the individual has finished the training, help in obtaining an apprenticeship in one of the factories is provided.

The second part of the educational services of ISA involves provision of scholarships and achievement awards. The ISA gives scholarships of various amounts to dependents of employees of the Associated Factories through the Illium Board of Education, Illium Community Junior College, the Illium board of the University of New Idaho and the General Motors Institute. They also offer achievement awards and research, or educational project grants through these institutions. Dependents of employees usually must apply, through their parents, and compete for the various kinds of scholarships that ISA provides.

This "broker" role, between industrial employees and formal educational programs offered by other groups, is the extent of the present involvement of ISA in the educational area. Although there is no formal link between ISA, and the Bandersnatch Foundation's Adult and Continuing Education Programs, there does appear to be a close working, informal relationship between these two organizations. In fact the ISA appears to be the only link that the Bandersnatch Foundation programs have directly to industry in the area. Since the Bandersnatch Foundation offers one of the most comprehensive adult education services anywhere, the ISA could provide a key linking function by making these programs more available to industrial employees. How much of this linking actually occurs is somewhat questionable, and will be discussed toward the end of this case.

d) Recreational services. The ISA sponsors what is perhaps one of the most comprehensive set of recreational facilities and programs to be found in the nation for employees of the Associated Factories. The ISA sponsors and supervises programs in baseball, basketball, golf, tennis, hockey and bowling. The ISA is also heavily involved in the "total athletics program in Illium." The staff actively participates on various recreation commissions in the area. Funds have been given to the city, and to the schools for renovation and upgrading of recreational facilities, such as a grant to the Recreation and Park Board for construction of a lighted baseball diamond. ISA sponsors a summer basketball camp for boys nine through sixteen. It owns what has been described as the best and most challenging 18 hold golf course in the area, for use by employees of the Associated Factories. This is used both for organized golf leagues, run by ISA, and "casual" golfers. ISA also runs a girl's basketball camp and cheerleading clinic.

The ISA has been almost solely responsible for creating a new craze that has swept the entire Illium area, organized hockey. The ISA built, and now operates one of the most modern, best equipped sports arenas in New Idaho, with two indoor sheets of ice. They have organized and run hockey leagues starting from little league, all the way through slo-puck hockey in the over 30 leagues. From responses received in the course of interviews, it almost seemed that everyone in Illium is now either playing hockey, or attempting to get on a team! The ISA helped to organize, and helps support the Greater Illium Hockey Association. In addition they encourage the organization of factory hockey teams, and supervise the factory leagues. The ice surfaces are scheduled from eight in the morning, when the late-shift teams begin play, to one a.m. the next day!

In addition to the hockey league, the ISA Sports Arena has times set aside for open skating, and provides skating and hockey lessons for

youngsters from five years old and up. The ice skating and hockey programs are by far the most popular of all the ISA services.

Other recreation programs run by the ISA include the recreation facilities connected with the ISA lodge at Kilgore Trout Lake. ISA schedules family outings, reunions, conferences, wedding receptions and other programs for employees at the lodge. Employees can also go there for boating, picnics, hikes and other outings. The ISA also operates an auditorium and annex where travelogues, concerts, exhibits, plays and other various types of entertainment programs take place.

3. The worker's point of view

Interviews were carried out with 21 employees of three factories associated with ISA, one large plant, one medium sized company and one small plant. One of these plants, Wigwam Industries, is the only participating plant of 20 located outside Illium. This company produces mainly metal tubing and piping. It employs 322 people. About half of these employees are male, half female. Approximately 4-5 percent of the workers are Black, 1½ percent Indian and 2 percent other minorities. The workers are union affiliated, and three-fourths live in the plant's vicinity while the rest drive out from Illium. The plant is only about a mile from the ISA golf course and about five miles from Kilgore Trout Lake.

Electricity Unlimited, employs 1,018 people, 350 of them women, 6 percent are Black and 1 percent other minority groups. The average age of the workforce is a little over 30. The third company, Socket Bearing Inc., is a subsidiary of a major vehicle manufacturer. Socket Bearing employs 1,000 persons, the bulk of the workforce occupied in blue collar production work.

From the information gathered in 21 interviews at the three firms, it appeared that the cafeterias, vending machines and recreational activities are the services most often utilized by members of the ISA. While the recreational services were not criticized, the cafeteria and vending machines were subject to many complaints. It appears that factory employees in Illium invest large sums of money in the ISA food services, but receive products and service with which they are dissatisfied.

The social services provided by the ISA seem to be reaching children, primarily. However, it is difficult to know how many older people utilize the pre-retirement and retirement programs, since we didn't interview any persons of retirement age. The social services seem to be enjoyed by those using them. The educational services had not been used by any of the respondents. This was, presumably, either because there wasn't a need or because information regarding these services is not reaching all of the ISA members.

For the most part, the respondents were unfamiliar with the structure of the ISA Board of Directors. They seemed nearly unanimous, however, in a desire to have hourly employees as members of that Board. It seems probable that problems such as inadequate cafeteria and vending machine services would be addressed more quickly and vigorously if the blue collar workers who receive these services had a more significant input in the management of the ISA.

The factory employees interviewed did not seem to have a desire for the ISA to provide services other than those which it now offers. One can only conjecture upon the reason for this. Perhaps it is because there are a number of recreational, educational and social services provided by a variety of other agencies and institutions in Illium; or perhaps it is because the employees don't perceive the ISA as an organization into which they have an input for suggesting change.

4. Concluding comments

The ISA was started by industrial leaders who were, in the early days of the automotive industry in Illium, highly paternalistic city fathers, and started much of the cultural, educational and social programs that now exist in the Illium area. The ISA service programs still appear to be operated fairly paternalistically. The Board of Trustees and all member committees are made up of high level management people. In fact it seems that all of the business associated organizations in Illium are controlled by the same, or at least overlapping, group of high level executives. The focus for this control is the Manufacturer's Association.

The organizational arrangement prevents the factory employees from having a significant voice in the policy setting or management level decision making of the ISA. In fact, the hourly employees in 3 of the 20 factories seemed highly pleased that, in their roles as coaches or league representatives, they had met and talked with board members, or management staff of the ISA. While they felt that they had good access to management, in terms of specific complaints or suggestions about organization or operation of their league, all expressed a desire to know more about the management structure of ISA and to have more input at the policy level.

Whatever input hourly employees do have is limited to the specific recreation program with which they are actually involved. Employee participation appears not to have any impact in the areas of social or educational services. The ISA is presently undertaking a re-evaluation of their services, and has set up an "internal" planning committee to look at the effectiveness of present programs and suggest future directions. This committee is also composed of higher level management personnel, who will undoubtedly go through the organizational hierarchy in their plants and other plants to check out management feelings about present and future programs.

Nevertheless, ISA represents an interesting model of a self-sufficient organization with a guaranteed high volume of services because of its vending and food services monopoly in all of the Associated Factories. The monopoly allows the ISA to sponsor a wide range of programs as well as donate money to various community programs and "causes." It doesn't have to depend on any subsidies or grants, which could be taken away by outside funders, or at the whim of a donor. It has managed to create links to the other social service providers that contribute to a high level of coordination and mutual cooperation in the delivery of services. This appears partially due to the interlocking political structure of the board of ISA with other organizations sponsored by the industrial leaders of Illium, partially due to the long history of ISA in the area, and partially due to the hard work of ISA management in bringing about this coordination and support.

It cannot be argued, however, that the ISA produces an unusually high quality of services. The management of its operation appears to be good, efficient and well able to cope with the variety of services offered. Yet there is little or no input at the policy making, or higher management levels from the vast majority of people who take advantage of ISA programs, and use the vending and food services. Meanwhile, the ISA programs, like old man river, keep on rolling along. For the last 20-30 years, the program has been heavily skewed towards leisure time and recreation activities. ISA sponsored social programs are of the type that are least controversial, and most supportive of maintenance of the status quo, such as the pre-retirement counseling, vocational testing, Safetyville and Big Brothers.

D. Hearingtone: Paternalism to a Broken "Family"

What follows is not so much a detailed case as it is a brief sketch of a different order of workplace than the first three situations. We include it here as a graphic contrast.

Hearingtone, located in a suburban community in prosperous Westchester County, N. Y., was once a thriving company, run by a family and employing nearly 3,000 persons. This was about ten years ago, when the company not only produced hearing aids, but batteries, radio parts and a variety of other electronic components. Since 1965, the company has undergone three mergers, lost every division but its hearing aid assembly section, now has less than 250 employees, and is owned by a huge conglomerate.

"It used to be like a family around here," lamented a receptionist who has been with the firm for 21 years. "Everyone used to smile, but now morale is low, the company doesn't care one iota about the employees and many of the men dread pay day for fear they may be laid off."

Due to the mergers and economic problems, the company has laid off a number of workers, often without notice. Those who survived had to have more than 25 years seniority. One worker had planned a three week European tour with his wife, a trip for which they had been saving money for years. On Friday, he picked up his check and discovered that he was no longer employed. In tears, he told the receptionist that he could not go home and face his wife.

The constant lay-offs have created a dismal atmosphere at Hearingtone and morale is low. The union is simply fighting to keep what it has gained, in terms of benefits, and strongly resents the policies and practices of the "outsiders who were brought in to manage the company." The personnel director will retire in three years. He has been with the company for more than 25 years, and simply seems to be waiting out his time, when he can collect his pension and retire to Florida. He has benefited, as a management person, from the conglomerate's profit sharing plan and other benefits. He doesn't see the need for the corporation to get involved in community activities, feels there is no need for services, and implied the best way to bring about communication between the races was through history courses and other educational means.

In the "old days," Hearingtone had a cafeteria that provided hot meals, Christmas parties, a bowling league, yearly dances, parties for those retiring, health tests, including X-rays and physical examinations, and an informal atmosphere where employees socialized and had a certain flexibility in the job. There was also a company library which stocked magazines and professional publications. All these things have been eliminated.

"This new company has come in, put in an investment, and now is trying to get the most out of it for the least they can," said the president of the office employees union, which is now down to 25 members. "Jobs were abolished, people thrown around and laid off. People used to look forward to coming to work, but today there is just heckling and bickering. No one is getting promotions or a break . . . they just bring in outsiders who sit in their offices," he added.

He noted that supervisors come around telling the office workers to "look busy when you have nothing to do" so the management will not get upset. During Christmas time, the employees were told not to exchange gifts until the work day was over at 5 p.m.

Production workers cannot use the company phones, and if they get a message, it is difficult to return a call until break time or the lunch hour. One worker, for example, received a message from his doctor concerning blood tests he had taken. While the call was not urgent, it was important. The worker was not informed until an hour later and told he would have to wait until his break to return the call.

The average age of the workforce is 55, and many are forced to hold second jobs to make ends meet. The unions are weak, fearful of pushing the company to the point where it will close down, and have few resources to provide services for its members. Most problems are handled on an informal basis by the local union presidents. The production employees union president said individuals with problems often come to him for advice, and he, in turn, tries to refer them to the proper agency or community service, or at times obtains help from the district union official. Attempts were made to establish a retirement club a few years ago, but the union seemed to lack both the resources and the expertise. He claimed, however, that retiring employees are encouraged by the union to join a national club for which a $5 fee sends information to senior citizens.

He related several examples of company treatment of employees, including the case of a woman who has a sick daughter and needed help. She had a poor work record because of the home problem and the need to be at her daughter's side. The company fired her, and the union leader attempted to help her get unemployment compensation and arrange for a visiting nurse.

"The company don't want to know about such problems," the union president said. "They would sooner fire you than bother with such problems."

He added that several months ago the employees signed a petition and sent it to the board of health, complaining about filthy conditions at the plant. Nothing happened.

But, as the union president noted, employees still receive a gold watch after 20 years service and a $75 savings bond after 25 years work.

E. Left Behind: Marginal Puerto Rican Workers

Gaps of income and life-styles are nothing new in human history. In 1844 Disraeli spoke about the population of Britain as "two nations, between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy: who are ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets. . . ." In more recent years Michael Harrington pointed to "the other America," and the Commission on Civil Disorders dramatically reminded Americans that the gap went far beyond income, education, and amenities. Today, many persons have climbed out of the government's poverty designation but a significant gap continues and reaches into the very subject of our consideration: non-work related services.

In order to gain perspective on the uneven availability and delivery of services at the workplace, we decided to conduct a sub-survey of employees who would find themselves, we figured, probably at the other end of the services stick from those we described in the first three cases above. We weren't wrong, as soon will be demonstrated. Through a Puerto Rican member of our staff, we were able to gain the confidence of 22 workers, who were employed in small factories in New Jersey. All were Puerto Rican who were born on the island and who had lived on the mainland between 1 and 24 years, with an average of 11 years. Only one of the workers was born in a city while 21 were born in rural sections of the island. They represented 20 women and 2 men, on the average only slightly over 30 years of age. Twelve of these persons were presently married and living with their spouses, 6 were separated, and 4 were single. Their take-home pay according to our respondents, ranged from $46 to $70 per week, not counting overtime. The 22 individuals accounted for 83 children under the age of 14, and 5 children over 14, for a total of 88 children. This means that, including the single individuals, each worker had to support on the average 4 children, and most of those living with spouses were responsible for more children.

Incidence of severe housing overcrowding were frequently mentioned. For example, four families of 4 or more members lived in a one-bedroom apartment. In overcrowding, as in many other indicators of social pathology, Puerto Ricans lead the state of New Jersey. According to the 1970 Census, 28% of the Puerto Rican households live in overcrowded circumstances (1.01 or more persons per room), compared with 20% Black and 15% White households. While 61% of White families live in owner-occupied housing units, and 26% of Blacks, only 13% of Puerto Rican households own their dwellings. Puerto Ricans in the state lag 18% behind Blacks in per capita income and 57% behind Whites. There is only one indicator in which Puerto Ricans appear to suffer from less instability than Blacks; approximately 30% of Black households are female headed compared with 19% of Puerto Rican and 9% of White families.

Our sample of 22 employees worked at 8 workplaces in Newark, Elizabeth, Jersey City, and Trenton. (Unlike our practice in previous cases, place names have not been fictionalized.) The firms were small, employing

from 35 to 200 individuals. Two of the 8 firms were unionized. According to their own descriptions, all 22 employees were unskilled. To the question, "Titulo de Empleo" (title of your job?) not one answered anything else than "trabajador" (worker), without citing a more specific job classification. Our Hispanic interviewer reported that the concept of "services" was not only difficult to translate, it was difficult for the respondents to conceptualize. Beyond knowledge of limited benefits, the very idea of non-work related services at the workplace seemed alien. He asked probing questions where the respondent would go to receive "services or help" if he/she had a health problem, or difficulty in getting transportation to the job, or needed to have a legal problem solved, etc. The workplace was usually seen as the obstacle to solving the problem, rather than as a source of help.

For example, not one employee cited his employer or union as a source of information about legal assistance, or social activities, or even such an apparently job-related activity as seeking transportation to and from work. The answers to the last question about sources of transportation assistance is instructive. Most respondents gave multiple answers. Nineteen of the 22 would contact the public bus company for information, 19 would try to form car pools, 16 would speak to fellow workers to arrange payment for rides (a kind of "publico" system of private cars with driver that is popular in Puerto Rico), 13 would seek ways of purchasing their own car, 11 would go to their ethnic community agency for help, but not one would consult the boss or the union.

There are, of course, issues about which the employer and the union would be consulted. As can be suspected, when the problem concerns wages, working conditions, and related grievances, our respondents said, yes, they would contact the boss (20 out of 22), but fully 21 would consult with the Ethnic Community Agency and/or neighborhood legal services. Eight would seek out their union or employee association. Not one respondent mentioned the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico New Jersey offices as a source of potential help. (The association mentioned in one workplace is an organization of Puerto Rican workers that perhaps resembles more the traditional ethnic self-help and defense organizations than an independent trade union. The association collects $2 monthly dues, makes representations for its members on and off-the-job and is apparently limited in membership to Puerto Ricans working at one plant.)

The employer was frequently cited as a contact point for health problems. Eighteen of the 22 workers said that they would see either the boss or a foreman if they encountered a health problem that necessitated their absence from the job and then go directly to the municipal hospital (every one of the 22 cited the emergency ward of the hospital). Seventeen said they would contact a private physician (utilizing Medicaid) and 5 would, in addition, seek out the Ethnic Community Agency for assistance.

Perhaps the most telling indication of our sample's perception of needs resulted from one of the last questions about the most important problems and the least important problems workers encountered in six selected need categories. (Interviews lasted between one hour and three and a half hours in length; they were held in bars and grills, homes, in ethnic community agencies, and near the work site.)

PERCEPTION OF SELECTED NEEDS OF MARGINAL WORKERS

N = 22

Category	Most Important	Least Important
Income, wages	21	0
Health	16	6
Housing	19	3
Gaining political strength	0	21
Transportation to and from job	15	7
Recreation	0	21

The picture that emerges from even these limited data is one of "the working poor" struggling for survival. These workers are, at this particular place and time, not very concerned about bowling leagues or pre-retirement counseling, or remission of tuition for liberal arts courses. Their overarching concerns are the pay envelope, housing, health, and transportation to and from the job. These are basic bread-and-butter needs. Their solution is only partially amenable through services--even though services may be far from an insignificant part of the solution.

There is a gap, as we stated previously, between Worker A and Worker B that has profound impact on the services either one needs or desires. There is a gap between the worker who has a skilled job, whose spouse works, who owns a mortgaged home, who has an adequate health insurance plan, and who drives a three-year-old Chevy to work and the worker who has none of these characteristics or possessions. Mrs. Gonzales, as we shall call her, is one of the latter types of workers.

Mrs. Juanita Gonzales is 42 years old, has a fifth grade education, and has been a resident of Newark and Elizabeth for the past 20 years. Since 1963 she has been separated from her husband and is divorced since 1969. However, no financial contributions have been forthcoming from her former husband, the father of her two sons, aged 16 and 17, since 1965. She can hardly make ends meet. Every day of productive work at the small factory is essential. She should take time off from work to see a High School guidance counselor about her younger son who was recently reportedly involved in a racial incident within the school. She also wants to seek help for her older son who is a heavy drinker. But she operates under considerable fear that if she will take off a half day or a whole day from work for these purposes, she might be "black listed" by her employer who already has told his workforce that orders were slow and that he might have to lay off many employees for the coming three months.

Fortunately, Mrs. Gonzales is receiving some services through an Ethnic Community Agency. The field representative of this agency is presently working with Mrs. Gonzales and is planning to be an advocate for her vis-à-vis the school and her employer.

The Ethnic Community Agencies should be mentioned to bring another dimension into this all-too-brief case description of Puerto Rican workers. These are agencies designed to assist Puerto Rican populations in a particular area. Our interviewer met with representatives of ten of them, including --and here we use the true names of organizations--Oye, Inc., Newark; Puerto Rican Council, Trenton; Casa Puerto Rico, Jersey City; Puerto Rican Congress, Trenton; and PROCEED, Elizabeth. Unlike the community action agencies or the more traditional social work agencies that cut across ethnicity and race, the above bodies, for the most part, deal exclusively with the Puerto Rican population. As previous data indicated, they seem to be recognized by our sample of 22 workers, and are looked upon as the source of information and assistance in a number of circumstances. We do not, however, have sufficient data to assess their precise role in the vital manpower field. We do not know, for example, how well they function in helping their constituency locate jobs, in training and consequent placement, and in their general functioning with management and organized labor.

F. Concluding comments

We shall incorporate material from this chapter in our latter discussions. We trust that these five descriptions will have supplemented the statistical data contained in earlier chapters. The models of service provision described will be referred to in the remainder of this report.

For now, however, we want to cite only two Activity Recommendations growing out of the last case on marginal Puerto Rican workers. (An Activity Recommendation, it may be recalled, is a fairly specific issue that should receive attention and that is not necessarily connected to a broader scheme. It is not "a program" we are recommending here, only a specific task that needs doing.)

The reason we wish to highlight the Puerto Ricans' case is our conviction that relatively little is known about the services this group of workers receives or, more appropriately, is denied from receiving. Their needs should be much more carefully assessed than we were able to describe and analyze (Activity Recommendation #6) and the approach to service delivery for such a population should be systematically explored (Activity Recommendation #5). Concerning the latter point, it is our impression that methods other than those of the traditional social service organizations must be found to reach such marginal workers with anything approaching effectiveness.

Activity Recommendation #5: A study should be conducted comparing two alternative organizational modes of non-work related service delivery with special emphasis on health, housing and transportation services, to a demonstrably poverty-ridden ethnic group. One mode of service delivery should be the traditional community service agency that cuts across ethnicity, and the other representing a consciously ethnic-oriented group.

Base line data would need to be collected for both settings and resulting performances carefully monitored and assessed. It is our hunch that the ethnically oriented program may generate broader based participation from its constituency, a greater degree of advocacy for its clients, and

more of a political stance vis-à-vis governmental, union, and management groups, than the traditional community organization.

Another activity recommendation has as its basis our regret that we were not able to do justice to our Puerto Rican sub-survey. We did little more than receive quick impressions from a very limited sample. Nor did we interview employers and community service providers who were not ethnically oriented.

Activity Recommendation #6: A thorough study should be conducted to gain reliable information about unmet needs and potential service requirements at or through small, marginal workplaces employing a sizable minority population. Such a study should, of course, be conducted with personnel that can find easy entry into such situations and can gain the confidence of the marginal minority workers, unions, and management of these establishments.

V. THE SERVICE THAT ALMOST WASN'T

Some service categories appeared to us particularly underdeveloped. Like an explorer who discovers unusual but sparse flora or rock formations, we were intrigued by these services and wondered how they happened to make their appearance and why they weren't present in more abundance.

Below we are citing a number of such services that appear to respond to obvious needs but that, for one reason or another, surfaced in only a few--or sometimes in only one--workplace studied. Here then, are some services that were conspicuous by their absence or that represented out-of-the-ordinary attempts to deal with an area of unmet need.

A. Counseling Service for Personal and Family Problems

In Chapter III we counted 23 instances of counseling services in 15 workplaces. The vast majority of these services dealt with vocational, career, veterans, and pre-retirement counseling. We only found two programs that systematically dealt with the employee's and his family's non-work problems. One of these programs is described below, by focusing on the role played by the professional counselor who heads the program.

1. An episode

On a recent Thursday afternoon, the Human Relations Counselor of a New Jersey based transportation firm received a collect telephone call from Pennsylvania. The caller was a skilled worker from one of the firm's plants. He reported a blow-up with his wife.

Dick, as we shall call the Human Relations Counselor, leaned back in his small office's swivel chair. It was not the first such call. He asked a number of questions and learned that the couple had defaulted on their mortgage and that they were temporarily separated. The marriage appeared to be teetering and yet the husband seemed to care enough to try to talk to his wife, which resulted in the "blow-up." The counselor was asked by the husband whether he would help. Dick, a former Methodist minister turned trained counselor, was noncommittal, but promised he would try. After receiving the wife's telephone number he hung up and started the difficult business of trying to get two persons to talk to one another honestly, even if harshly, without, however, the previous escalating incriminations.

It happened on the next day, Friday, at 6:00 pm at the bar of an establishment along the New Jersey Turnpike. At a back table, husband, wife and Dick were sitting for 2½ hours. Dick was not concerned at this juncture with "patching up" or "forgiveness" or other notions that come from hero-proportioned advice-givers on the TV screen. Instead he asked each person to express what was troubling him or her about the other. He had them face one another to articulate these feelings.

As they talked into the early evening, some elements of warmth appeared to return to their conversation. There were increasing instances of honest expressions of feelings without the cutting edge of accusations. Dick suggested that they continue to talk at other times and about specific issues. He encouraged them to call him and said that, if needed, there could be marriage counseling services available to them in Pennsylvania.

As it turned out, the marriage counseling service in their community was not needed. Dick called both husband and wife two or three times during the following weeks and found out that, despite another blow-up between them, they decided to purchase a house and live together. On a recent stop to the Pennsylvania plant, Dick talked informally with the husband who showed considerable enthusiasm for his new home.

What is remarkable about this true episode is not the all-too-easy sounding happy ending--many such counseling sessions end in indecisive results--but the fact that a firm engaged in the none-too-genteel business of freight and transportation, hires a full-time man like Dick to do personal counseling. While industrial psychologists and organizational development specialists and employment counselors are nothing new on the American industrial scene, a human relations counselor like Dick who utilizes three-fourths of his time working on non-work related problems is refreshingly innovative. This development deserves a closer look, and Dick provides an enlightening illustration.

2. The company

Overland Freight, as we shall call the company, is not a run-of-the-mill enterprise. For one thing, Overland is family owned and family run. The President, the Sales Manager, and three other top personnel are brothers and the beginning of the firm goes back to post World War II days when, as every employee knows, the brothers bought three surplus trucks and started doing business from the front yard of the family home in Northern New Jersey. "They really take care of you," is a phrase quoted by many employees, often supplemented by "why I remember twenty years ago, the President would give out personal loans on Friday afternoons with no questions asked." Employee loyalty to the brothers appears to range from fierce to luke-warm. However warmly the family and brothers are regarded by the employees, Overland stands for the family and the family stands for Overland. They are inseparable in image and in organizational reality.

The company is now 25 years old and has grown to a profitable venture employing 1200 persons, 700 in the Northern New Jersey headquarters and 500 in plants scattered throughout the Middle Atlantic and New England areas. One of the brothers proudly tells that Overland earns 15 cents on the dollar and that with 900 pieces of motorized equipment, the company ranks among the larger privately-owned firms in the industry. Men outnumber women in the workforce 3 to 1. Most of the drivers and dock workers are organized by the Teamsters and the maintenance personnel by the Machinists. The office employing most of the women is not organized. The great preponderance of the workforce is white with a sprinkling of Blacks and Hispanic employees. Most employees live in the area of Hudson, Bergen, and Passaic Counties,

travelling to work in automobiles with only a small number arriving by bus that stops near the main gate of headquarters.

Physically, the headquarters offices and docks resemble much of main line industrial America, but there are some differences that impress a visitor. The acre large dock space, where trucks load and unload throughout the night and day, have brightly colored walls and music piped into the area and the offices are adorned with original paintings.

But visually most observable is a large, well equipped Recreation Center now in the process of completion. It stands cheek by jowl with the office and the docks, in the same compound, and it is obvious that no funds were spared to make it a showplace. The mahogany paneling in the large assembly hall, the intricate stucco material on the exterior, the saunas and the exercise rooms and the large pool testify to a major corporate effort.

Overland Freight carries out its employee relations with bravado, style, generosity, or paternalism, depending how and who interprets management's motivations. The screening of potential employees is said to be among the most rigid in the industry. Perhaps this accounts for the relatively few drug or alcoholism cases that come to Dick's attention. Having passed this threshold, the employee is exposed to such events as formal parties. The 25th anniversary of the corporation sparked one idea among the brothers: the hiring of Queen Elizabeth II for a two day celebration for the whole staff. A party on the gargantuan scale was in keeping with the unusual and highly visible activities that have been attempted at Overland; and the reported daily charge of $90,000 for the Queen did not deter the brothers from investigating the possibility. It didn't work out and the Silver Anniversary was celebrated with a weekend at a Pocono resort, complete with formal dinner, gifts, food and drinks for employees and spouses.

Many years ago, according to one of the brothers, there had been a company picnic with beer and the usuals. Overland was smaller and the style of employee relations was on a more modest scale. Wives were not invited and a free-for-all developed over a controversial baseball game. Since then, wives have always been encouraged to attend company affairs.

3. The man and his roles

This is the employee-oriented setting into which Dick stepped more than two years ago. In talking with officials and employees, one perceives a feeling that he was employed as a surrogate for "the brothers" who always had prided themselves of being close to Overland workers, but who had come to realize that the growth of the company prevented them from personally dealing with, or even knowing all employees.

Interestingly enough, Dick's position was originally advertised as "Industrial Ministry." The President and other brothers are church-going Catholics and the idea of an industrial chaplain, patterned after the hospital or prison chaplaincies, had appeal to them. A number of clergymen were interviewed, among them Catholic priests, but Dick the Methodist, was finally chosen upon referral from Union Theological Seminary, the Harvard among middle-of-the-road Protestant seminaries. One of the reasons why the

Catholic priests were apparently not selected was their lack of everyday life experience. "Why, the priests never even bought a car on credit or took out a mortgage," one of our interviewees responded. Dick qualified well in having a family and kids, a car that was bought on credit, and a house that was mortgaged--quite aside from his counseling and clerical credentials.

Dick makes a disarmingly mild appearance. His clothes are conservative, his glasses are encased in simple metal frames, his hat has a narrow brim, his haircut is trim, his car is a beige VW bug, his bearing is quiet, his speech is without a regional accent. He is easy to talk to. There is a quiet articulateness about the man that permits him to find the right words to reflect a feeling or put across a thought, without being overbearing or dramatic.

The exterior hides an innovative humanitarian drive. While still a minister he once dressed and acted like a drunk and planted himself on his own church's doorsteps. He wanted to dramatize the lack of compassion and koinonia that existed in suburbia, especially in suburban churches. His point was proven when the local police were called to remove the drunk and when Dick had difficulties identifying himself. The point of the exercise was not lost on his congregation, though the minister's unusual action caused considerable discomfort with many of his parishioners.

Dick, on the job, engages in "aggressive availability." He is there. He makes the scene. In a subdued way, he is visible to workers and management. He often tours the docks and travels to the various installations of Overland Freight and genuinely seems to enjoy engaging in this personal presence. His availability is also tested by the hours he keeps. He often comes to work early to be on the docks at 6 or 7 in the morning when the day's high watermark of activity occurs. Late at night he may receive a call at home--his personal telephone number is widely advertised in the company.

In terms of constant availability and in terms of the wide range of issues Dick deals with, as we shall see later, the Human Relations Counselor's role is not that of the professional psychological counselor who closes shop at 5 and deals only in carefully delineated problem areas and processes to confront these problems. It is much more the role of a pastor who comforts and helps and listens. In one of his roles, therefore, Dick is, indeed, the company chaplain in a nondenominational and nonevangelical sense, as was originally intended.

Dick feels that his type of counseling demands a physical presence over long periods of time. His availability is not accidental. Constantly being where the employees are gives him an unusual opportunity to observe and take a general pulse reading of the work force. He also can follow up on many persons that have been counseled in the past. "There are many professional counselors," he states, "who wonder how former clients are doing. They never see their clients again. I don't have to wonder. I can visit them, or pick up the phone and find out. There is real personal satisfaction in this for me."

But like other professional counselors, Dick does a great deal of individual counseling. During his first year on the job, Dick held a total of 1,184 sessions with 341 different individuals. These figures are slightly

staggering when considering the case-loads of most human service professionals. For one thing, it means that Dick has counseled during his first 12 months on the job almost one out of every three employees.

It must be stressed, of course, that unlike a psychotherapist who sees perhaps a dozen patients for two or three hours a week, most of Dick's counseling is of short duration. About half of his consultations are no longer than twenty minutes, one-fourth last between twenty and forth minutes and the rest take longer than forty minutes.

Dick estimates that he holds four or five counseling sessions a day with one or two new cases being initiated daily. Most sessions are held in his office, in the dining area, or on the docks. However, counseling sessions also take place in homes, hotels, restaurants, bars, hospitals and parks.

The 341 individuals counselled by Dick during the year fall into 465 "case types" according to his figures. A number of individuals who seek his guidance present more than one problem area or "case type." The statistical breakdown reveals the following picture:

Case Type Breakdown	One Year Total	Percent
Family Problems	53	8
Financial Problems	36	2
Marital Problems	22	4
Sickness and Crisis Situations	140	39
Job-Related Problems	109	16
Personal Emotional Problems	41	8
Social Problems	8	1
Legal Problems	2	1
Miscellaneous Information	45	21
Total Cases	456	100

How does a "family problem" differ from a "marital problem"? Dick gives examples of family problems as those involving an employee's son running away from home, a daughter's problem pregnancy, generational difficulties, whether they involve a sixteen-year-old son with whom the father has had persistent battles or the question of nursing care for an aged mother. This rubric also includes in-law problems such as the employee who wanted to discuss the difficulties caused by his mother-in-law who appeared to be neurotic and disruptive to family life but who refused to receive any professional help. (In this case Dick tried to be supportive and helpful to the worker who brought the problem, feeling that he should deal with the worker's anxiety about the situation rather than visiting the home and dealing directly with the mother-in-law.) "Marital problems" on the other hand deal with the type of husband-wife conflicts that were illustrated at the beginning of this chapter.

"Sickness and crisis situations" which account for almost one-third of Dick's case load concern death in a family, hospitalization, disability and other emergencies. Dick hears about these crisis situations from supervisors

on the job or directly from the affected worker's friends. It took some time for Dick to receive prompt referral of emergency situations from supervisors. "It just didn't occur to them that I might be able to help," states Dick, "but now they seem to be doing it almost automatically."

In cases of death of an employee or his spouse, Dick's pastoral background is particularly helpful. Dick will call a close relative on behalf of Overland Freight, offer condolences and try to assess what services may be required. He can sense whether his presence is desired at the home, and what other actions he or the company could helpfully perform.

One of the most difficult problem areas for Dick's involvement is "job related problems." Many of the issues in this rubric deal with working conditions, benefits, and grievances. For the most part they are governed by collective bargaining agreements and even if they are not, they involve a direct superior-employee relationship. A third party intervening in such a relationship runs the risk of losing credibility with either one of the aggrieved partners unless the intervener clearly stands above and beyond the organizational structure such as a mediator, arbitrator or ombudsman accountable to a neutral organization. If the Human Relations Counselor should side with an employee he might lose credibility with management and might even be accused of usurping the prerogatives of a union official by both the union and by management. If he should suggest that the worker may be at fault, he quickly becomes the company's hired lackey. In cases where Dick feels a collective bargaining issue is at stake he may urge the employee to talk to his union instead. If the issue is a complaint or irritation, rather than a grievance, Dick will attempt to find out more details and resolve the issue.

It is around this area of job-related problems where probably the greatest role conflict takes place for the Human Relations Counselor. On the one hand, management expects the counselor to embrace the role of neutral ombudsman, while on the other hand, as everyone knows, he is a member of management. To complicate the role dilemma there are a number of management officials already charged with the responsibility of resolving job-related problems including the personnel director, the industrial relations director, the communications coordinator, the sales manager, the executive vice-president and, significantly, the president himself who remains a highly visible court of last appeals.

"Social problems" account for only an infinitesimal 2% of the "case type" breakdown. Among the issues that fall into this category are cases of inter-group tension, alcoholism and drugs. It is difficult to speculate why Dick's case-load contains only isolated drug related problems. He may not yet have been successful in penetrating this problem area which in a number of larger companies unquestioningly represents a major concern. Or, the company's effort at screening employees may, in fact, result in fewer pill poppers being hired, as well as the job atmosphere not being conducive to drug usage.

The above represent counseling roles, but Dick has important additional duties. When he was hired, the president asked him to be responsible for six related functions.

1. Counselor for personal problems and referral agent to agencies if necessary.
2. Ombudsman.
3. Communicator, that is, to improve communications between people within the company as assistant to the company's Communications Coordinator.
4. Motivator dealing with programs and courses for employees that will motivate their performance on the job.
5. Trainer, to assist the training department of the company in its various functions.
6. Representative to speak for and act on behalf of the company in a number of community enterprises such as the Urban League and the United Fund and to staff the company's activities in charitable works.

Our impression is that Dick spends most of his time in the first role of counselor followed by his role as representative in the community.

How effective is his counseling? Indeed, what should be the criteria for judging counseling effectiveness for an industrial human relations counselor? Dick's own words in a year-end report to management may give a clue.

> Of the total number of employees faced with problems of a critical nature, 133 cases or 36% of those counseled were positively helped, to the degree that problems were definitely solved or the immediate crisis relieved. Of these cases, 50 were family or marital problems, 42 were various emergencies, and 41 were personal emotional problems. The remaining 64% of the persons treated fell into the categories of routine maintenance matters, information needs, venting (letting off steam) and further professional referral.

It would be arrogant for outsiders to evaluate effectiveness on the basis of limited interviews. We can, however, attest to the fact that management as well as employee representatives to whom we talked felt warmly towards Dick and perceived his functioning in a positive context.

How has the Human Relations Counselor been accepted at Overland Freight? Some of the workers we talked to admitted that at first the idea of an industrial chaplain or a human relations counselor "was a joke." To others he may have been an oddity and a source of fascination. To some he may have been seen as an extension to top management's paternalism. And to still others, he may from the very beginning have appeared as a source of help, comfort, and advice. Dick feels that he now is much more accepted than when he first came on the job. He can blend into the scene. It is not abnormal for him to be around. Now, when he does not visit a plant for some weeks, his absence is noticed by employees who ask "why haven't you been around here?"

Management is probably most impressed by his non-work related counseling efforts and his representative role for the company in the community. The role of ombudsman which management expected him to play is probably the least successful aspect as they view his performance.

But Dick himself is frustrated in some crucial aspects of his work. His management mantle bothers him. He feels that he is assigned too many

tasks. In short, he longs for the role of independent professional for which, as a counselor, he was trained.

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An epilogue to this case is in order. A few months after we compiled this account, Dick decided to leave Overland Freight. He is now a counselor in an innovative youth program. The departure from Overland was apparently initiated by Dick himself who found the role conflict between management agent and employee advocate too difficult to resolve. There were problems of who really was his client--the person needing help or his superiors. Also, there was no consistent and clarified policy that would ease the counselor's involvement with work related problems. It appeared to Dick that he could not penetrate the traditional, top-down, autocratic management operating procedures concerning work related human relations issues.

At present, there seems to be only a part-time substitute for Dick. The multi-faceted functions appear to have been reduced to those of pastoral care. A local minister is hired to deal with sickness, bereavement and related crisis situations that are non-work related.

4. A general comment

This case appears to illustrate that the counseling function can be discharged successfully, but probably only with great skill and compassion. Is Dick's role translatable to other enterprises and other counselors? Would a human relations counselor last even a month in a steel mill or a large post office? What are the pre-conditions to make his role productive? We shall try to deal with these questions in Chapter VI.

B. Housing Location Assistance

A number of our workplaces hired considerable minority employees at all levels and yet we discovered only one major program that realistically addressed itself to the housing needs of this population. While we found other activities that dealt with the creation and construction of housing, the service below appeared to be particularly suggestive because it tried to match already available housing with a workforce that needed housing and that, because of race or economic reasons, frequently were denied such opportunities. Another reason why we wish to describe this service is that it illustrates how a community-based third party can provide services to an inter-industry group--and be financially self-sufficient and relatively independent in formulating its policies.

Thirty employers, many of them industrial giants such as IBM, Continental Can, Exxon, and Nestle are utilizing the services at the Corporate Housing Service Program (as we shall label it), a wing of the Urban League of a suburban county. The program is three years old; in 1972 alone, 200 employees found suitable housing through CHS and many more were counseled about housing location. The lion's share of the program's workload is focused on minority employees, even though "the majority employee seeking

reasonably priced living quarters in an integrated surrounding is also accepted.

CHS offers a series of related services to employees from participating corporations. In the words of a mimeographed program outline, the personalized housing service includes:

1. Detailed information as to the location of all types of desirable housing, for both rental and purchase, in a wide price range.
2. Counseling as to the specific techniques required for successful looking at housing accommodations.
3. Aid in securing the desired accommodations.
4. Information and assistance regarding legal rights and financing.

The above services are not dissimilar from those offered by fair housing councils throughout the country. They entail interviews with the party searching for housing with special attention to accommodations required and special features desired, referral to individual owners or real estate brokers operating on an open occupancy basis, referral to volunteer escorts to accompany the applicant if he desires, information about non-discrimination laws and how to utilize them, financial counseling, description of various communities in the area (CHS actually functions in three counties, as well as selected middle class areas in other parts of the metropolitan area) including identification of relevant community organizations, information about transportation to schools and other facilities, etc. CHS deals with rooms, apartments, co-ops, condominiums, as well as single homes.

What is especially intriguing about CHS is the fact that, unlike similar services, corporations actually pay for it. In the words of CHS's newsletter ACCESS, "Fees are set according to each company's manpower and frequency of use."

CHS appeals to the enlightened self-interest of corporations. It promises to cut a corporation's relocation and recruiting costs by "shortening the time for an employee to obtain housing, and by inducing an employee to accept your job offer instead of another." It also points to the improvement of the company's image "through articles in the Black media . . . publicity on campuses . . . exposure in Black organizations."

While most other institutions try to thrive and expand, CHS has a deliberate death wish. Quoting one of its releases, "CHS is expected to be self-retiring, with the need for such a specialized housing service diminishing with availability of housing information, improved mobility of minority families, and gradual opening of the housing market to all on an equal basis."

It would be ironic if present economic stringencies, rather than lessening housing discrimination, were to hasten the fulfillment of the organization's death wish. It will be interesting to observe whether CHS can survive what appear to be two trends of the times: budgetary belt-tightening for corporations and relative diminution or at least a leveling-out, of corporate affirmative action efforts to overcome the disadvantages of societal discrimination.

C. Corporate Political Education for Employees

We have already noted the minimal activities that can be subsumed under the title of political education at the workplace. The very term "political" appears to be used with caution or entirely avoided.

One workplace, a corporate headquarters, has given political education what might be called "controlled legitimacy." This firm permits its Employees Public Affairs Committee to engage in political education. (Among other activities undertaken by the committee is a volunteer clearing house which encourages employees, in the words of the corporation's president, "to spend some time with the children, the elderly, the afflicted, the institutionalized--people less fortunate than we are. . . .") The committee's charter indicates its purposes to be, "To encourage greater employee participation in social, public and political affairs . . . and to foster communications between employees and management in the 'areas of social concern' which may have a bearing on the environment in which _____ Co. operates." A number of sub-committees are charged with the task of implementing this objective. Among these sub-committees is one on Speakers/Political Action which is asked "to encourage participation in and information about political affairs and to provide speakers who will deal with subjects in the areas of social concern and sponsor the Action Course in Practical Politics." (This course is designed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and is open to all employees.)

Among the activities announced by the committee in connection with the 1972 Presidential campaign were visits to the corporation by Pierre Salinger speaking on behalf of Senator McGovern and Richard Kleindienst speaking for President Nixon.

Another committee announcement informed employees of registration procedures including the permission that, "with advance notice to a supervisor, any employee may have one hour off to register to vote."

The composition of the committee implies considerable management control. Representatives from the corporation's several divisions and departments are chosen on the basis of interviews with interested employees conducted by the outgoing incumbent and the divisional personnel manager. Candidates thus recommended are included on a list sent to a selection committee which, in turn, is composed of the incumbent representative, the personnel manager, and the department head. The new representative's term of office is one year, with the possibility of re-appointment for one additional year.

The committee chairman is elected by the committee members for one year. His duties include periodic meetings with management "to relay the activities and plans of the EPAC and discuss suggestions as to the direction of EPAC's programs."

D. Corporate Employee Volunteerism

The Volunteer Service Bureau of Eaton County, as we shall call it, is a non-profit organization funded by the United Fund, and serves as a clearing house for recruiting and referring volunteers for some 250 non-profit health, welfare and education agencies. The organization has been in existence for 24 years, and in 1971, became one of the first Voluntary Action Centers of the National Center for Voluntary Action (a national non-governmental clearing house for volunteerism). The Service Bureau is a middle-man, finding people to fill needed slots in social service agencies and finding agencies that can utilize individuals willing to give their time, effort and expertise.

Within the past year, the service Bureau has become involved with corporations in the Eaton County area in an attempt to tap their manpower resources. A few examples will illustrate the Volunteer Service Bureau's activities vis-à-vis industries and businesses located in the county.

--Last year, the service bureau approached a major employer in an effort to recruit 60 volunteers from the corporation to serve as volunteer tutors in the evening for the county seat's Adult Basic Education Program. The company agreed, printed a brochure, found 60 interested company employees and paid the cost of a five week training program conducted by the staff of the adult education program. The training sessions were held at night, and the volunteers ran the gamut from the "secretary to the professional manager" to a mixture of younger and middle aged workers, both men and women. By the end of the year, 45 of the volunteers were still participating in the program.

--The Service Bureau held a fair at the corporation's employees' lounge in order to recruit volunteers for various other agencies. Displays and literature were available and staff members talked to interested persons to assess their wishes and capacities and inform them what volunteer opportunities are open. Their aim was to sign people up on the spot and organize appropriate training programs, if necessary, either through the corporation, the social service agency or another outside party. This type of effort implies active company cooperation to help employees involve themselves in the community. Actually, the fair served a dual function in that many employees not only became familiar with the social service agencies available in the county, but were informed of how they, as potential clients, might be able to make use of these services if the need should arise. The service bureau intends to expand its program and hold fairs in as many corporations as possible, reaching a wide spectrum of employees, not just simply the white collar managerial type.

Many other companies have held such recruitment and information sessions on their own. One such corporation has a department entitled Community Action Volunteer Program which, according to its literature, serves as an "informal clearinghouse to match employee skills, academic, clerical, athletic, or managerial with the needs of community agencies. It also supports corporation personnel who are engaged in volunteer work and creates opportunities for them to exchange ideas and benefit from others' experiences."

--Other activities sponsored by the service bureau include busing ghetto children to a corporate headquarters for a tutoring program; and the

18 volunteers that were recruited as literacy tutors to work on a one to one basis with inmates at the county jail (the aim is to continue the program with inmates once they have left the institution); the released time donated by a utility to its lower echelon employees enabling them to go to hospitals, childrens homes, etc. for a full day; the company that "adopted" a methadone clinic at a local hospital with recruits volunteering to work in the program on their own time while the company contributes materials and supplies (it is now known, however, whether the company makes a special effort to hire ex-addicts); the summer opportunities community programs supported by corporations utilizing minority college students such as the junior in college who served as a tenant relocation coordinator at a housing project in the county.

The staff at the VSB had two major recommendations for corporations interested in helping employees engage in voluntary work:

a) The need for granting employees released time to pursue outside community interests, and
b) The need for companies to allow groups and organizations to use their facilities.

The staff feels that some form of either corporations donating the time for "voluntary" service, or being willing to share the company's and the employees' personal time, would greatly enhance employee willingness to sign up for community service. Furthermore, there appears to be some difficulty in persuading corporations that outside groups and individuals should be permitted to use corporation facilities for activities, particularly those that may involve utilization of corporation equipment. What else, we asked, will make a corporate volunteer program work? The staff referred us to a report of a recent meeting with corporate executives and local agencies that concluded with the following observation:

> It was felt that . . . certain sequential steps should be followed by all groups to insure success. They are: 1) commitment by corporate management; 2) contact with a social agency; 3) corporate selection of a co-ordinator; 4) publicity of a new program to attract and involve employees; 5) company making time for employee involvement, 6) company recognition of the employee's contribution to the community.

A final observation may be in order. Most of the firms that the Volunteer Service Bureau deals with are not only large, frequently they are corporate giants. This appears to be a national phenomenon. The National Center for Voluntary Action points primarily to large corporations as examples of successful programs. Yet it may be precisely the smaller firms that most need the help of a third party such as a service bureau to organize programs.

E. Blue Collar Neighborhood Gains Reluctant Industry Support

1. Crestville: The setting

The Crestville neighborhood in Rock City (only the names of persons and places have been changed) is known as a working class industrial

community. Its origins go back to the purchase of ranch land by the Crest Smelter Company. Soon after the smelter was constructed East Europeans began to migrate to the town of Crestville in 1885. From 1885 until World War I, Crestville continued to grow, building more smelters for the mining in the Rockies and meat packing houses to accommodate the Rock City Stock Yards in the immediate vicinity. The location of more industry in the area attracted more workers to Crestville, changing its character from an isolated area to a small industrial town on the outskirts of Rock City.

During the post World War I years Crestville acquired new railroad yards and additional packing houses and with them continued influx of many East European workers. Even after annexation to Rock City, Crestville maintained the social intimacy of a small European town. The German, Polish, Yugoslavian and Russian ethnic concentrations tended to reinforce the isolation. Workers walked to their jobs at the smelters, packing houses and railroad yards. Many locally owned shops were opened, corner grocery stores, bakeries, barbers, shoe repair, taverns, etc. Churches were established for each separate Eastern European ethnic group in Crestville.

The neighborhood remained stable during the pre and post World War II years. It wasn't until 1956 that any significant changes occurred changing the shape and direction of Crestville. A public housing project was built in that year. Three years later an interstate highway was built on the western edge of the neighborhood and in the early 1960s another interstate highway was constructed through the center of Crestville. These developments brought about an increase of Chicano and Black families that were located in the public housing. Industry found the area more attractive because of access to super highways, and subsequently built in the neighborhood. The ethnicity of the neighborhood began to change as whites moved out and Chicanos moved in. The second major change was the industrial encroachment into previously exclusively residential areas. Highways and industries were gaining at the expense of housing. Crestville was becoming a predominantly industrial area.

However, signs of vitality, stability and hope were still in evidence, even in the mid and late 1960s. Chicanos moving into Crestville were buying their homes and taking their places in the packing houses, smelters and other industrial plants, and many were walking to work. Churches were still active, only the parishioners changed. Some shops were closing, but most remained open. There remained a rural character in parts of Crestville despite the rapid growth of the metropolitan Rock City area. There were large expanses of open fields, horses grazed in back lots, and roosters could be heard in the early morning hours. Deterioration of homes was much slower than other transitional neighborhoods in Rock City. The homes are typically narrow frame houses with steep roofs, on small lots with a small front fence, with yards that are immaculately cared for. The new and the old residents of Crestville view themselves as clean, hard working, and self-reliant folk. The neighborhood remains a quiet, peaceful community where families can raise children and workers can walk to work in the midst of a large, metropolitan urban center.

Despite these positive indicators of community stability a feeling of demoralization gained currency that Crestville's days as a residential community were numbered. The construction of the housing project, the loss of homes to the two super highways, and the subsequent industrial encroachment

left most people with a feeling of helplessness. Big government divided the neighborhood into four quadrants with its highways. The residents fought and lost both highway battles. Industries bought vacant land and homes, rezoned them and built plants adjacent to or in residential areas. "What's the use, nobody cares about us little people" was an often repeated attitude of many Crestville residents.

Recently Crestville became even more of an enclave. It is now completely encircled by major natural and man made boundaries. An interstate highway and railroad marshalling yards combine to create the western and southern boundaries. A large river defines the eastern edge with a large industrial complex joining to delineate the northern extremity. It is an area of nearly 500 acres or 100 city blocks. The central part of the neighborhood is the residential heart. After two decades of population changes the once all European neighborhood has a predominant Chicano population comprising 58% of the 4,600 people now inhabiting the area. "White ethnics" are the second largest ethnic group numbering 26%, Blacks comprise 11% and Native Americans and Asians 5%. Income levels of the people in Creasville are far below the city average. The average family income is $6,147 a year compared to the Rock City average of $9,654. Nearly 25% of the households in Crestville receive some sort of public assistance, such as old age assistance and aid to families and dependent children. Of the employed labor force 50% are employed in industry and 55% work within one mile of their home.

The housing in Crestville has begun to deteriorate in recent years but not nearly as rapidly as in other transitional neighborhoods in Rock City. In an exterior housing survey conducted by the city, 80% of the homes were either in need of only minor exterior repairs or needed no repairs at all. Of the 1,250 housing units all but 300 are single family homes, and of the 300 apartments 265 are public housing units and the remaining 35 units are duplexes. The average home value in Crestville is $9,500 compared to the Rock City average of $19,500. One of the most important factors explaining the good condition of most of the homes is the high home ownership. Sixty-four percent (64%) of the housing units in Crestville (excluding the public housing) are owner occupied. This is compared to a 25% average for most other central city transitional neighborhoods.

2. Community problems as viewed by residents

The problems that were of paramount concern to Crestville residents, in relative order of importance, were inadequate storm drainage, noxious odor pollution, deteriorating housing, industrial irresponsibility and inadequate recreational facilities.

Storm drainage was far and away the most important problem. Part of Crestville is within the river's 100 year flood plain. Increasing industrial demands on storm sewers, outmoded sewer lines or no sewer lines at all, and the high water table were all contributing to local flooding whenever rains fell or the snows melted. Almost everyone had been affected by water related damage in recent years.

Noxious odor pollution was caused by two animal rendering plants, a chemical fertilizer plant, a natural fertilizer plant, four oil refineries, a blood processing plant and two asphalt treatment plants. There were no real air quality control standards to regulate industrial odor emissions.

Deteriorating housing was evidenced along industrial and highway corridors. The worsening conditions were beginning to inch their way further into the residential area.

Industrial irresponsibility was demonstrated by visible outdoor storage that was clearly illegal and unsightly. Additionally, the loading areas and exterior structures were ugly and unfinished. Trucks from the industrial area would drive on residential streets in clear violation of traffic ordinances.

Finally, inadequate recreational facilities were a concern. The isolated nature of Crestville prevented many younger children from going to movies, bowling, skating, etc. The existing facilities were old and poorly maintained, or not available.

Thus the condition of Crestville was marginal physically and psychologically. A little shove in either direction, it seemed, could make it or break it for the people living there. The problems itemized above would need serious attention by residents, industry and direct intervention on the part of public officials if the problems were to be solved. The demoralizing effect of the conditions and problems of the people was the first major obstacle to overcome.

3. The problem that triggered action

The stimulus that set community action into motion was the increasing belligerency of industry towards its residential neighbors. The noxious odors were worse than they had ever been. The rendering plants were using no pollution control methods to recycle or reduce odors. The cooking odors of blood, hair, and hides were emitted through the plant stacks and the resulting odors were nauseating. The processing of blood became a particularly acute problem. Besides the foul odor of cooking blood, microscopic particulates of blood were also emitted. The blood dust, as it was called, rained over the neighborhood. Anything of a light color soon became reddish and the flies came by the millions. Finally, the animal feed lots held thousands of animals to be fatted for slaughtering. Their excrement and food troughs attracted insects, flies and rats. Children were being bitten by rats and homes were being infested. The time had arrived to fight back.

With no history of militant protest the problem for the residents was how to fight. Pickets were attempted but they fell upon the deaf ears of the readers of the press. No hue and cry arose from the streets of Rock City. Petitions to the mayor's office were referred to other city offices where they were promptly shelved and forgotten. Direct talks with industry brought about only hostility and frustration because both sides accused the other of making too much of the situation.

Odor had become the cause célèbre, the catalytic agent to spur on a community which had allowed itself to be lulled asleep. The community was awake now and had made some challenges that weren't too successful. But the odor remained. It was realized that Crestville was caught in a vicious odorous system that was difficult to break. Odors were coming from many different sources and in most instances one odorous plant relied on another odorous plant. The blood, fertilizer and rendering plants all relied on the packing houses. Isolating one plant simply ignored the fact that there was an "odor system" which must be challenged. The law which regulated odor was ambiguous or nonexistent.

The Crestville residents were going to have to demonstrate that they had the power and the authority to act. They needed to become knowledgeable about much more than just odor. They needed to know zoning regulations and statutes, traffic and truck regulations, city plans for Crestville's future, potentials for growth in the neighborhood including housing developments, flood plain restrictions and much more. The neighborhood strategy was to increase residents' confidence that something could be done to improve the situation. But there were going to have to be several smaller successes, increased knowledge, larger successes and much more learning, until such time that confidence would be restored to residents so they could fight big industry and improve their neighborhood.

There was going to have to be concerted public cooperation to complement the neighborhood efforts. The residents would need the help of the police to enforce truck and traffic ordinances, the zoning office to inform them of proposed zoning changes and to explain the alternatives, the planning office to help them develop a plan for their community, the public works department to control the flood waters and to improve the streets, gutters, garbage collection, etc. But to get the city's support was not so simple, because downtown was where the trouble bred. Crestville was referred to as "that place" or "you mean the industrial area." The city planning office even attempted to designate Crestville as an industrial park on its 1985 Master Plan until the residents took it to task and forced a change of the plan. Therefore, the efforts directed at the city were to gain bits and pieces of support through the following actions: Research and publicize the positive plans for Crestville; persuade the city's agencies to make numerous small investments in Crestville; obtain public officials' endorsements and publicly approve Crestville residents' efforts; once the city support is committed, and progress is well into the development stages, make a positive, public relations campaign to gain a full city commitment for Crestville.

The ultimate objective was to gain the cooperation of industry and the city to preserve Crestville as a unique residential-industrial community. Both residents and industrial plants could coexist to each other's mutual benefit, as well as that of the city.

Industry was still the king-pin in the strategy. "Unless the smell is eliminated no one will want to continue to live in Crestville." So odor it was, and the battle lasted two years with minor encounters continuing on ad infinitum.

"Sue the bastards" was the cry at the community meetings. But how? There was only a handful of people and no one was a lawyer. The Legal Aid

Society was asked to sue the rendering plant. The lawyers were brought in and instead of marching off to court, the lawyers began asking some very hard questions. Who did the group represent and who were its leaders? What has the rendering plant done to break any laws? Have all the administrative remedies been exhausted so as to warrant the court's mediation? Who was going to pay for filing fees which could mount up if a case is appealed? Suing the bastards wasn't quite so easy. It was further decided that the group would have to enlarge its membership, and formalize its structure thereby creating what henceforth would be called No Odor for Rock City, Inc. (NORC).

A brief note should be injected at this point to clarify the role of the outside interveners. The three primary external actors were all invited into the neighborhood by NORC. They were the Legal Aid Society, a neighborhood planner from the City Planning Office, and a local university planning department. The lawyers provided the legal assistance, the planner provided community development and planning expertise and the university provided research and technical assistance.

The neighborhood planner had a storefront office in the neighborhood which acted as the coordinating focus for the community development activities. The planner conducted leadership training sessions, helped call meetings, followed up on organizational details, and coordinated the necessary technical assistance. Most importantly, the planner encouraged people to be optimistic, shoring up the hope of citizens that they could, in fact, achieve successes. The planner deliberately emphasized the development of strong leadership within citizen organizations.

The neighborhood planner spent approximately two years in the Crestville area. He estimates that between 60 and 80 hours per week were spent in working with neighborhood individuals and groups. Between two and five group meetings and innumerable individual interviews were held by him every week.

NORC's strategy encouraged by these outside actors, was to deliberately build a case. The residents believed--on the basis of recent experience--that the plant wouldn't comply with their demands and probably not even with the demands of public agencies. The health departments of two counties were the first to be contacted. Hundreds of complaints were filed about the blood dust, the flies, the rats, and orders were issued to the plant to clean up and cease the emissions of the blood dust. The plant made some attempt to correct its mistakes but soon lapsed back into its old habits. The process was repeated, almost down to the last detail. The lawyers and the residents were carefully building their case.

The lawyers discovered that there were no odor regulations for the state or city. Thus, NORC and the Legal Aid Society initiated legislation to bring obnoxious odors emitted by industry under the control of the state Air Pollution Control Commission. There were some severe limitations set on the original bill but the final statute that passed was still applicable and enforceable in Crestville.

In the midst of this intensive battle against the rendering plant, one of the meat packing plants decided to build its own rendering plant only five blocks down the road from the old one. NORC publicized these efforts all

over the neighborhood and once it became known, many more people were anxious to stop "another one." A zoning change was going to be necessary to build it, however, and the residents in the vicinity of the site of the new plant filed a legal protest before the city council. Council approved the zoning change on the assurances by the packing house that no odor would be emitted. The residents weren't satisfied with this decision and instructed their attorneys to take the case to court. They wanted the project stopped. The court agreed that the odor must stop and required the new rendering plant to install the most modern technical equipment available at the time to control the odor emissions. According to sources inside the company, this action on the part of the residents and the subsequent court directive cost the company an additional $25,000 to install the odor control devices.

NORC's next target were the feed lots. Residents inundating the health department and county commissioners with complaints about the rats, insects and odor. Public hearings were held, the press pursued the issue hotly and the residents began to feel that it was the first time industry might have to buckle under their pressure. Industry acquiesced. The lots were moved to an area away from the general vicinity of residential housing. Nostrils used to odor, now also smelled the sweet scent of success.

A most fortuitous event was taking shape in the meantime, unbeknownst to the residents. The stock yards ownership had decided, because of the declining usefulness of its facilities, that the yards would be phased out. In its place, the corporation would develop an agricultural-food industrial park. Warehouses, packing houses, storage lockers and offices would be built just across the river, east of Crestville. It would be the largest agriculturally oriented industrial park in the Rocky Mountains. The potential tenants of the new development would employ thousands of people.

Even though the proposed industrial park was across the river from Crestville, the developer was keenly aware of Crestville's odors. Odors know no bounds. Prospective tenants in the proposed industrial park would surely have objected to nauseating odors from the rendering plants, refineries, fertilizer plants and asphalt treatment plants. Thus, the residents gained an unexpected ally in their fight for odor control.

The stock yards assumed vital anti-odor leadership within industry, by first pressing the packing houses to clean up their operations. Next, they acted as a mediating force to persuade industry (particularly the rendering plants) to work with the state Air Pollution Control Commission to develop industry wide standards for permissible levels of odor emissions, and to research and develop the necessary technical equipment to control the odors. Finally, but probably the single most important improvement was achieved in persuading the natural fertilizer plant to move out into the outlying county.

4. The present status

After nearly four years of community meetings, research, complaining, picketing, boycotting, suing and achieving success and failure, NORC found itself in the midst of numerous issues simultaneously and most of them are still not totally resolved. The rendering plant's pollution case is being appealed in the courts. The new rendering plant occasionally shuts down its

odor control devices (or they break down) with no back up equipment thus spewing odor into the neighborhood. No effort has been made to control the four refineries with their sulfuric odor emissions, nor has anything been done on the rotten egg odor of the chemical fertilizer plant. It is unlikely that any of these issues will ever be completely resolved. The difference now, however, is that after three hard years of battling, a period of cooperation seems to have been established. Residents and industry have now joined together in urging the city to speed up its efforts in constructing the new storm sewers in the area. They have established a joint committee to redevelop the river front. There has been an agreement between industry and residents to work together on the development of parks on unbuildable vacant land in Crestville (under power lines or along railroad rights-of-way). There have been specific written agreements between the residents and industry that industry will develop an environmental green screen to divide the industrial and residential areas thus helping to protect the residential area.

All of this is not to say that more does not need to be done. Trucks serving the industry continue to short cut through residential areas. Industry still attempts to rezone the residential areas. The need for construction of new housing persists. Another resident organization called the Crestville Neighborhood Development Corporation (CNDC) has worked with the city in designating sites for new low and moderate housing units to be constructed in the neighborhood. CNDC wanted all the vacant land developed into housing along the residential industrial line to further protect the residential area. The city is now acquiring the vacant property from industry through condemnation, much to industry's consternation. CNDC hopes that the city will approve their corporation as the sponsor for the housing.

The point has now been reached when industry must take the community into account. Industry will not be able to go blindly about its business in disregard of its residential neighbors. Industry has now begun to respect the rights of the residents to act in their own best interests. Indeed, there are now areas of common endeavor where community and industry are working hand in hand. There is more that could and must be done.

But government, too, has been cajoled into at first hesitant, and then major cooperation with residents. Through continued organizing and pressure by residents and the Crestville Neighborhood Development Corporation the city's recent bond issue included four and a half million dollars for the construction of new storm sewers in Crestville. The measure passed by a healthy majority. The local Model Cities Agency was asked to allocate funds for the construction of a new gym at one of the recreation centers, a small park at the other recreation center, and a new day care center. The city's housing administration has agreed to construct new single family housing in Crestville. It was this housing that the community used to stop further industrial encroachment in the western part of the neighborhood. Many smaller investments were made by the city, such as cleaning ditches and culverts (which hadn't been cleaned in ten years); repairing chuckholes in streets; the installation of stop signs at heavy pedestrian crossings; the construction of new curbs and gutters; the installation of mid-block street lights; and the regular cutting of weeds in vacant lots by the city. (It is very difficult to calculate the smaller investments but the larger ones totaled a little over $5 million dollars: a half million dollars for community facilities and $4½ million for the sewers.) The strategy of

gaining bits and pieces of public support was surely paying off.

What has happened to the residents? No one at the outset could possibly have imagined the complexity of the issues, the organization needed, the research necessary or the number of outside resources to be called upon. But successes were achieved through the hard work of the residents of Crestville. The results were organization, knowledge and successful action all of which greatly increased the self confidence of Crestville residents. Neighbors could now go ahead and build additions to their homes, put in that new fence, and repaint the eaves, because Crestville is going to be around as a residential neighborhood for years to come. The number of homes for sale in the neighborhood has dropped from 22 a month to less than ten. Home ownership is steady. The number of the school children at the local public school is actually increasing.

5. The future of resident-industry symbiosis

The essence of Crestville's future lies in the relationships being built between neighborhood residents and industry with local government as an active prodder. Certain public policies on housing, flood control, storm sewages, industrial encroachment, provision of community facilities and the like will have to be formalized by the city and state. The neighborhood will not have the luxury of letting down its defenses.

It is to be hoped that the relationship between industry and residents will become truly symbiotic. Unemployment in Crestville is high and stands at eight percent. A concerted employment program appears to be a priority need. Some jobs might be created initially in an industry-city effort at environmental improvements. Unskilled persons could be used to clean up outdoor storage, landscape the ugly expanses of land and to clean up the river which industry has nearly destroyed.

Additional mutual developmental activities are desirable such as the use of skilled persons from industry to assist the community in various endeavors. For example, the neighborhood is developing a housing corporation which hopes to do much of its own construction. But first accounting systems will have to be established, there will need to be roofers, carpenters, mechanics, brick layers and the like. Industry could help the community through a lending of skilled personnel and tools. The company could allow the craftsman to bring with him his tools to teach the community the skills. The industry might allow health clinics in the larger companies to be used as substations for the neighborhood health services. Industrial health clinics are well equipped but underutilized presently. Also, residents could make good use of offices, auditoriums, and board rooms for community meetings while not in use, particularly at night. Vacant and underutilized land owned by the companies could be donated or loaned for parks or recreational use. These are but a few additional ways in which the cooperation of the residents and industry could be fostered, and that are not directly associated with major issues that have conflict built into them.

These, then, are some of the actions that brought a reluctant industry into a working partnership with a local blue collar population. The role of the outside actors--the lawyers, the neighborhood planner from downtown, and

the university--must not be underestimated. They helped to catalyze and encourage citizens when events appeared to be going against them. These outsiders kept themselves in the background, but they played crucial roles.

F. Concluding Comments

These five instances represent services that are underrepresented in most workplaces. Like a crocus showing its head above the snow, they may be harbingers of things to come or they may be oddities not likely to be repeated. We believe that most of these examples fall into the former category.

We realize, of course, that these five examples represent an uneven classification. Counseling, housing assistance, and exchanges about volunteer opportunities are not new to many workplaces. What is different in the programs we described is the magnitude of the problems being faced and the intensity and quality with which these efforts are managed. The problems of housing and residential quality are not confectionery surface manifestations, but basic human needs. Moreover, there are few counseling programs, we would submit, that approach the Human Relations Counselor at Overland Freight in terms of outreach to a broad segment of the workforce. The same can be said, we think, about the housing program and the volunteer service bureau both of which have established unique working relationships with local business and industry.

The corporate political education program and the community development efforts that involves the industry as a reluctant partner are perhaps more unique in kind as well as in quality, when compared to other firms and other regions.

We could have chosen additional services to write about--or, negatively speaking, to bemoan the absence of some services where it appeared to us there should have been some. Into this latter category might fall a number of endeavors for which we looked in vain: a thorough program of medical screening and advice, including VD, sickle cell, gynocological examinations, genetic counseling, etc.; a comprehensive alcoholism and drug abuse program (we found parts of such programs, but few instances where the on-site and off-site aspects were truly integrated for the benefit of the employee-client); hardly any mention of population control programs which, in many other countries, rely heavily on services at the workplace; the lack of formal, organized discussions of local issues. For example, the New York Regional Plan Association sponsored an ambitious series of television programs concerning housing, transportation and environmental issues in the metropolitan area. Discussion groups were organized in thousands of settings throughout the area. Yet workplaces were almost completely missing from these vital discussions. There were no instances where we discovered candidates for the local school board to come to the workplace for discussion of the issues; we could not locate the pros and cons debating a forthcoming referendum; there were few organized discussions of life-styles; there were few endeavors that brought Blacks and Whites together for discussion or encounters; the great issues of this and past years, including public morality, private sex, and alternatives to existing societal institutions, were not to be found, except of course, in the informal exchanges among people on or off the work premises.

We are not necessarily saying that these activities should have been present or that they "belong" at the workplace. In view of these numerous activities that could have been sponsored as deliberately provided services, but were not, why then did the five examples we cited bubble to the surface? Particularly in view of the fact that in each instance, the program or activity found a degree of acceptance and legitimacy at the workplace, even if only temporarily, what is so unique about these five services?

One of the distinguishing features of each one of these five under-represented examples is that they are professional services. They are not just activities that are "arranged" on an ad hoc basis by a Personnel Department that is playing an honest broker role, but are deliberately planned and executed activities. They are, in the idiom of this report, "programs." For the most part, they involve paid, professional staff for their conduct; time and money was spent to give professionally adequate services; there is nothing casual about the aggressive outreach of the housing location service or the counseling program. Even the services provided by the lawyers, planners and the university to the citizen groups of Crestville, represent considerable public investments for experienced and skilled professional assistance. Of these services it might be said, "you pays your money and you gets your choice."

In a sense, these services represent the exceptions that prove the rule incorporated in our previous Proposition #17 which claims that workplace services tend to be those that are relatively safe and non-controversial and that can be programmed in a relatively simple manner, preferably on an in-house basis. Certainly, the above cited services do not represent the traditional bowling leagues or United Fund campaigns. They entail risks to management and require skill and sophistication to mount.

It should also be highlighted that three of the five services are provided by a third party, either through a contractual relationship (housing) or through an adversary relationship (the organized neighborhood confronting the industry). Only two services (counseling and political education) are run on an in-house basis where maximum control can, of course, be exercised by management. As will be pointed out in the last chapter, we find the model of third party delivery of workplace services a highly suggestive one for a selected number of activities.

As a qualification of Proposition #17, therefore, an additional formulation might now be indicated. Proposition #22: As corporations or unions initiate major services that are potentially controversial in nature and represent complexities and risks in their administration, there will be a corresponding tendency to manage these services with a relatively high degree of control and/or with specialized, professional staff. Such staff may either be hired directly by the employer or the organization, or contractual relationships may be established with groups that have a recognized capacity to discharge given services.

The question that must be in the mind of more than one reader at this point is where exactly the responsibility of the workplace to help solve social and individual problems stops. The question is not only valid, but complex to answer. In the previous chapters we have indicated that many services at the workplace address themselves towards achieving greater

convenience and comfort for the individual employee--and often shy away from the basic issues that trouble individuals and communities. Such issues would include drug abuse, race relations, moderate income housing accommodations, societal priorities, politics and public affairs, environmental pollution, etc. Should the workplace become a social agency? An information center? A learning center?

This introduces us to the last chapter where some of these concerns are considered.

VI. PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Introduction

This chapter deals with program recommendations--clusters of activities dealing with given aspects of the issue. Activity recommendations, dealing with specific and often relatively isolated concerns, are scattered throughout this report. Now we broaden our recommendations to include broader issues, such as a new organization that might deliver comprehensive services at the workplace, or the proposal about the workplace as a learning center.

Reluctantly we have included only a limited number of program areas in our recommendations. There was so much to say and not enough space or time to articulate it all. We wished to avoid the overly simplistic, obvious, or minor service categories--or those where we would need to be too general. For example, we originally wanted to include a program recommendation concerning the physical design of the workplace, particularly of commonly used areas such as entrance ways, cafeterias, sitting areas, etc., that impact the pattern of informal interaction among employees. While this concern with physical space remains important in our mind our data were extremely soft on this aspect of the study and would have forced us to be very general. Similarly, with a planned recommendation about the multiple use of physical space at the office or factory by employees or community members after hours. Such after-hours use of work space makes sense especially in localities where there is a shortage of physical facilities elsewhere in the community. However, the point is so logical that to turn it into a program recommendation would be bloating the obvious.

This chapter will first consider the criteria for selecting and initiating services at the workplace, then articulate a few organizational arrangements that could effectively administer numerous programs, and finally propose a number of new or re-cast programs. But first it may be useful to address ourselves to that part of our study's lead questions that asks, ". . . can the place of employment be used more systematically as a site for providing assistance to workers in meeting nonwork problems. . . ?"

If there is any doubt as to our response after having read the report this far, let us explicitly dispel them now. In our view, the workplace is a unique and important site where employees can and should be informed about non-work related services and where actual diagnosis of selected needs and delivery of selected services can take place. Stripped of scholarly embellishments, the reasons for our positive answer boils down to two simple points: First of all, the workplace represents the most universal point of contact for the gathering of many persons, with great regularity, over long periods of time. People are assembled at the workplace to discharge contracted functions in a more or less organized and predictable manner. They can thus conveniently reach out for an available service and the service, in turn, can reach out to people who need it. Secondly, our study indicates to us that employees actually desire, appreciate, and use a number of services that do not directly relate to their work tasks. In their perceptions at least, services fulfill some of their needs. To be sure, many of the services presently provided seem to represent useful, but rather low

order priorities in meeting an employee's needs hierarchy. But this appears to be a function of the availability of many low order and confectionery type of services; it does not represent, in our view, a generic rejection of the idea of workplace services. In fact, we believe that the demand for services by employees--whether unionized or not--will increase. We would further predict that as a broad array of services are initiated, they will become an integral and widely used part of the world of work, similarly perhaps to the presence and use at the workplace of prepaid health insurance.

There are, of course, other reasons for urging workplace services. It seems to us, however, that they become subservient to the above two points. Among these secondary reasons might be included improving the cost-benefit ratio of a given service (workplace services will not only increase effectiveness of coverage of peoples served, but bring about a corresponding lowering of the per capita costs for providing services) and the potentially increased desirability of the workplace for employees who, with services available, can meet a wide variety of needs there.

In order to present a balanced picture, countervailing arguments against workplace services should also be summarized at this point. In our view, these arguments turn around four factors: First, workplace services may seriously overburden the basic functions of employment. (The workplace is not a social agency. It should not be burdened with extraneous functions that are outside its primary function of the production of goods and services. The provision on non-work related services is at best a very marginal social commitment of management and organized labor. At worst, these services at the workplace can seriously detract from the primary purposes of the workplace and thus would, in reality, be counterproductive.) Second, workplace services may qualitatively be poor services. (Neither management nor labor is particularly well qualified to administer, or even help to coordinate, non-work related services. There are, moreover, institutions well equipped to administer these services. Most of them are available in the community and can be discharged there without need to move them to the workplace.) Third, workplace services may increase employee dependence. (Management and labor already occupy central positions in the lives of employees. Adding the responsibility of also providing non-work services further enhances personal dependence on the employer or union and may eventually return us to a company-town mentality.) Fourth, workplace services will increase product costs. (Services cost money. Such add-on costs may be passed on to the consumer, but even if costs are borne by government, there will remain the administrative difficulties of integrating them into the work situation.)

These countervailing sets of arguments must be taken seriously. On balance, we are much more persuaded by the arguments favoring workplace services since they contain the greater potential for humanizing the institution of productive work and the development of the personhood of the individual worker.

B. Criteria for Initiating Services at the Workplace

1. Selecting the Appropriate Services: Three Approaches

A crucial part of the lead question cited in the first chapter asked that if non-work related services at the workplace are deemed useful--as we so identified them above--"what types of assistance for what types of problems and in what workplace settings would be appropriate?"

The questions cannot be answered by a single answer or even by a general principle. It is possible, of course, to recite rather abstractly and mechanistically a number of identifiable needs of various workplace constituencies and indicate the services that presently and potentially appear to meet these needs most adequately--from a theoretical point of view. The usefulness of such itemization is highly questionable. If our experiences in urban planning have taught us anything, it is that useful planning can only proceed within a given context and framework. To be realistic, planning and the answer to the above question must both progress on the basis of realistic frameworks based on the opportunities and constraints of the here-and-now.

There are at least three realistic frameworks for an answer to this question. Each answer is, in a sense, a framework or a conceptual container that dictates a certain way in which to think about the issue. Each one is legitimate. None can be dismissed. As will soon become apparent, we personally lean most heavily on the third approach cited below, though certainly not exclusively.

a) The political - pragmatic answer. This answer to the question, "Which services?" looks at the interests of the dominant institutional forces that are involved at the workplace, management and unions, and argues from the premise that very little can realistically be expected in terms of services unless one or both of these two institutions agree to them. It is a hard-nosed, pragmatic appraisal of the industrial scene. It would argue, for example, that management is not about to help sponsor Day Care Centers if it turns out that employee-mothers reduce their work productivity as a result of rushing to see their children who are now within walking distance. Nor, to take another example, would unions likely sponsor or co-sponsor a sensitivity training course if it actually undercuts the contractual relationship between workers and management.

The political - pragmatic answer, then, would insist that whatever services management and/or labor desire and are willing to provide or negotiate are "appropriate," regardless of a more abstract analysis of employee needs. The essentially political process of deciding who serves whom with what services, according to this view, is the one that works best, is the most democratic and accountable, and in the end the most productive. There are some services that clearly fall within the purview of management, others within that of labor, while third-order services, falling in-between, are fair game for bargaining as to who provides them, controls them, or funds them. There probably would be little argument that management should provide training services to foremen, subsidize the cafeteria, and run the feature film during lunch time. Labor, on the other hand, would probably be granted

the "right" to provide its own legal counsel to employees, to conduct classes in labor history and collective bargaining, and to field an off-hours softball team. But who should call the shots for the psychological counseling program, or the effort at public affairs education, or the group legal insurance? These are areas of concern where both parties have a legitimate interest and where a modus vivendi has to be established and bargaining can and should take place.

Even if it were proposed that some of these middle-ground services were planned and administered by a neutral third party, there still would be considerable concern about the control each party can exercise over the third. Institutions are not about to give up their prerogatives to new-fangled social inventions. Again, the question of "Which services are provided by whom?" delves centrally with institutionalized interests which, according to this point of view, in the end will determine the nature and control of admissable services. Anything else is wishful thinking. Like any other societal institution, the workplace, too, has its Realpolitik.

One of the problems with the political - pragmatic answer is that the most common denominator type of services will be eagerly embraced and the more innovative and risk-prone services will take a back seat. Labor and management are likely to agree on precisely those services that represent the more innocuous, non-controversial, and low-risk ventures. They might include volunteer services to the community, initiation of a car pool system enabling workers to come to work more easily, and agreement on a death benefit fund. But the services that deal with the employee's strongly felt personal agenda involving high cost and risk factors--such as personal counseling, welfare assistance, or political education--are the services around which controversy might flare. And these are the service areas that, as a result, probably will be among the last to be delivered at the workplace.

b) The comprehensive service - systemic answer. The planner of comprehensive services is likely to think differently about the question of which services should be established at or through the workplace. He will likely be concerned about a far-flung and intricate network of service providers. In thinking about workplace educational services, for example, he will likely focus on adult education activities, mostly delivered in the community setting, and the role of educational institutions. He is likely to ask himself two questions: a) Where are the cracks in this educational system resulting in no or only a few services being delivered? What new services are needed? b) How can the existing services be enhanced and better utilized? What referral services from workplace to service provider should be established?

The comprehensive services - systemic answer is exquisitely logical and rational. It correctly presumes the existence of a number of services that could be maximized by greater exposure to potential users. It also recognizes that the existing network of services is incomplete, particularly in meeting employee needs, and therefore should be supplemented and strengthened at or through the workplace. In this view, special emphasis would be placed on coordinating mechanisms to assure various service providers to better plan and schedule their offerings to provide broad coverage. It also would emphasize impressive information banks that would tell the potential user of services just where they might be available and under what conditions.

The weakness of this view, of course, is that coordination of other institutions' services often does not suffice to meet the needs of one's own constituency. Not only are there inevitable scheduling problems, but there are inconveniences in reaching a "foreign" institution or workplace where services are delivered. Furthermore, the comprehensive services - systemic answer presumes that special, localized needs can, in fact, be met by services offered elsewhere. Finally, this view appears to overlook the important motivational factor of employees being involved in planning and controlling their own, tailor-made services if they are expected to fully utilize and support them.

c) The user - centered answer. This view insists that the potential user of services must be involved in the answer to the question, "Which services?" The employees should not only be surveyed by an outside party in order to assess their expressed needs, but they, themselves, should share in the process of determining the needs structure of their fellow employees. The consequent planning and operationalizing of a given set of services also should be cooperative endeavors between employees and a professional staff. Thus services will not be imposed from the outside and can be tailor-made to a given setting. More importantly, the services thus created probably stand a good chance for being utilized by the same constituency that planned them.

This view consciously sacrifices organizational neatness for maximum participation. There may be overlapping services provided by several workplaces that might eventually--but not necessarily initially--be coordinated. Since each service will be approached de novo, this approach cannot benefit from the savings of coordinated, volume-oriented services.

Another problem with the user - centered answer is that it requires considerable effort in organizing and sustaining a group of employees that are sufficiently representative of the labor force, interested in their task, and skilled in the complex task of planning and communicating with their constituency. Management and/or labor cannot just announce for interested employees to please step forward, quickly decide on needs priorities, and expect a full blown program to emerge.

All three of the answers given above have legitimacy. All of them might be utilized separately or in a mixed model. Indeed, none can be ignored. However, we believe that the persons who have planned programs in the past have leaned more heavily on answers 1) and 2) than answer 3). The user - centered view has, in our experience, been underutilized. We would underline full employee participation in deciding which services can most appropriately be planned and delivered. As we interpret our data, this participatory stance was an important ingredient in the more promising services at workplaces identified by us.

2. A Guiding Theme: Employee Participation

The temptation of program planners is to recognize a human need and once having identified it, planning a program that supplies the antidote. Presto, so the reasoning goes, the problem is solved. Translated into concrete programs, this means that if a drug abuse problem is recognized among teen age youth, then a drug information and counselling program is

planned for these youth. We all know better, now, of course. Such programs centered on information-giving can miss their mark by a mile. They proceed on the often simplistic notions in the head of the program planner of what the consumer needs and how he can best receive it. A central element to the success of many programs is, of course, the process that takes place when persons who may have a problem get together, talk about the issue, develop a desire to do something about it, approach persons who have technical expertise and, as a group, design and operationalize a program.

Thus, some activities on the part of unions, management or a third party, that would probably assure the demise and failure of a given service, are these:

-- Spring a service on an unsuspecting clientele.

-- Identify the sponsorship of the program in vague terms so that it appears to be a ploy by either management or union.

-- Give the service publicity over-kill so that everybody will know it to be a public relations gimmick or a service to stay away from lest one become labelled as a pathological case.

-- Clothe the service in the aura of a charitable venture.

-- Create the impression that experts have devised the service for people who "are troubled by problems."

The drift of these items is discernible. Services cannot successfully be created for employees; they should be created with them. The reasons for employee participation in the planning of services appear self-evident: a) employees must be approached if their needs and desires are to be correctly described; b) if employees are involved in the creation of a service, the credibility of such a service will likely be heightened; c) the utilization of a service in which employees have played a planning role appears considerably heightened than if elitist planning created it; d) employees' sensitivities about being "used" for ulterior motives may be lessened if fellow employees have helped create, and continue to share in the control of, a service.

Such participation is not without cost. Evidence indicates that some decisions arrived at with maximum participation may consume considerable time and may result in non-innovative programs (Spiegel 1969, pp. 209ff). Sophisticated staff work or consultant work is frequently useful to make the participatory planning process work. Nevertheless, there is enough industrial experience about involvement of employees in decision making to indicate that such participation is organizationally feasible, motivationally beneficial, and programmatically necessary (see, for example, the work of Maier, Likert, Trist, McGregor, Katz, Vroom, Argyle, etc. as cited in Vroom and Deci, 1970).

Program planners, we have suggested above, often show a subtle form of arrogance with they "traditionally" plan a service package for other persons. With the best intentions, they get carried away by their own preconceptions of what a certain constituency wants and needs and how the

smoothest delivery road of services should be paved. We nearly fell prey to this danger ourselves. Recounting the experience may illustrate this important point.

In our enthusiasm for comprehensive service delivery at the workplace we conjured up the idea of a mobile multi-service caravan. The scenario was, at first, most appealing: imagine about a dozen trucks pulling into the parking lot of an industry one day, almost like a circus coming to town. By lunch-time, these trucks would have opened their sidings and revealed a variety of purposes. One truck would be a mobile health diagnostic center; another a library of books and tools; a third a combination of legal services, personal counseling, community information, and consumer education; another truck would have participatory games and sports; another an art exhibit and equipment for do-it-yourself projects. There would be food served, music would be heard, and a kind of carnival atmosphere would be encouraged to attract potential users to the services. The trucks would remain for a day or two and then move on to another location.

This idea may have merit, to be sure, but only if employees themselves will approve of it. The trouble with the scenario was that it was our brainchild, representing our concern for the aggressive availability of multiple services, and not necessarily the concerns of the potential users. If operationalized just on our own convictions, the idea of the mobile service caravan might have been a major, and expensive, flop.

3. Some suggested criteria

The question of which services are most appropriate for the workplace, then, is not nearly as meaningful as the question of the process by which employee needs and desires are uncovered. The generalization of "the workplace" is simply too all-encompassing to permit a simple recitation of services that can be discharged. "The workplace" is a can of worms including many constituencies representing many different needs. There are older workers needing pre-retirement counseling and younger workers seeking help with family budgets. There are marginal workers concerned with legal redress of pressing economic issues and professionals concerned with tax deductions. There are middle aged women who are part-time employees and middle class men who hold one and a half jobs. There are unionized shops with well established organizational structures and non-unionized workplaces with paternalistic management.

The services discharged at or through the workplace to meet the needs of these varied constituencies will therefore vary considerably as to substantive character. In terms of how these services should be organized and planned, however, certain common criteria might be itemized. These criteria apply whether the service is sponsored by management, the union, or a third party. These criteria stress the viable participation of the potential consumers of the services.

-- Services should be based on an assessment of needs of a particular labor force.

-- Employee participation in the administration of this assessment process is most desirable.

-- Employee participation on the operational initiation of services is imperative.

-- Services initiated must make allowances for special needs of individuals and constituencies, particularly those needs that derive from socio-economic and racial-ethnic groupings.

-- Employees should have an opportunity to participate in the policy setting and control of the service program.

-- Employees should have an opportunity not only to consume the services thus provided, but, wherever feasible, should also have a role in the actual provision of selected services (as volunteers, sub-professionals, or experts).

-- Services should be accountable to a given constituency or federation of constituencies (such as a union council or employees' association).

-- Mechanisms that explicate periodic statements of accountability should be provided.

-- Periodic evaluation of the service by an independent source should be provided.

-- Funding mechanisms for the service should assure relative independence of the program in pursuing its stated goals. To the maximum extent feasible, such funding should be closely related to the constituency using the service.

-- Services should be organized as viable programs, rather than ad hoc activities. Services need a sponsor, a purpose, program goals, and implementation designs that usually necessitate staffing, adequate funding, patterns of accountability and evaluation.

To summarize and recapitulate, these criteria represent a process-oriented, but realistic answer to the question of appropriate services at the workplace. An appropriate service is one that employees decide, after due deliberation, they need and can help initiate. The above criteria, it is hoped, will provide sufficient parameters of choice, due process, and accountability. For the moment, these criteria leave unresolved such questions as to how much a consensus has to be achieved within the workforce before a service can be initiated, how employees should be chosen for planning tasks, or who should provide planning funds, etc. These are some of the items included in the following discussion on organizational arrangements.

C. Organizational Arrangements

A variety of organizational arrangements can provide services at or through the workplace. The following section will discuss the continuum of

such arrangements, the possible funding mechanisms, and finally stress one old and one new organizational mechanism that appear particularly suggestive for service delivery.

1. A continuum of organizational arrangements

The following continuum moves from "insider" single party provision of services--by either management and/or labor--to "outsider" third party service providing organizations. A few sentences will suffice to describe each model; we are not interested in fleshing out each model, but merely wish to indicate the breadth of organizational approaches to workplace services.

a) Minimal threshold. This is the "least effort" model in which either management or labor organize a number of activities that require few changes in existing operating procedures. Examples would include the token recreational activities such as picnics; tuition payments for certain courses; casual advice-giving, and the like. No specially trained staff is responsible for discharging these services. Many smaller firms appear to fall into this category.

b) Token program. This category is represented by a deliberate effort by management or union to provide services, usually involving designation of staff personnel, on a part time basis, to perform given functions. Here one encounters the conduct of recreational programs, the organized participation in the Community Chest, or the part-time effort at a pre-retirement counseling program. The work "program" is appropriate for describing these activities since they are deliberately organized and consume some organizational resources. These activities are unilaterally sponsored by labor or management.

c) Two party collaboration. In this organizational arrangement two parties actively work together to provide a jointly sponsored service. The parties may include union and management (such as a negotiated health program where both union and management representatives sit on the policy-making body), union and community (such as ATSCME District 37's legal services program), or management and community (such as the Housing Location Assistance program cited in Chapter V).

d) Outside assistance for limited objectives. Here an outside organization, most often a community based service provider, is asked to deal with a specific issue. A third party from the outside is thus asked to intervene in the workplace, but under carefully circumscribed conditions. The relationship between service provider and the workplace is limited to given tasks and is at arm's length. The Volunteer Service Bureau of Eaton County, described in Chapter V, would be an example of this outside assistance.

e) Third party programs. Here an outside group is given a broad mandate to develop and conduct programs at or through the workplace. Rather than the limited objective, as in d) above, the third party programs engage in a number of activities that can cut across a number of services. The third party stands somewhat in the position of a sub-contractor who has been given an important assignment by the prime contractor. Examples of the third

party program model include the university extension service operating a series of programs for management and/or labor or the inter-industrial consortium that provides counseling services for a number of workplaces in the region.

2. A continuum of funding mechanisms

Closely tied to organizational arrangements for service provision, is the question of how these services are financed. Once more, there are various models and methods that are presently, and can potentially, be utilized. Some of the more important ones might be typified as follows:

a) Single party, non-negotiated. When a union pays its attorney to be at the union hall for a specified number of hours every week to help solve non-work related legal problems for the membership, it does so as a single party from its own initiative, and not because a collective bargaining agreement has specified the service. Similarly, management on its own initiative will often provide a counseling service for employees and pay for it through its personnel budget.

b) Single party, negotiated. Funding comes out of the pocket of one party as the result of negotiation with another. When union and management negotiate an arrangement that requires management to provide health services, such funding would come under the "single party, negotiated" rubric. A similar situation exists when negotiations call for, say one-half percent of payroll to go into a jointly administered labor-management trust fund for educational purposes. Even though the resulting program is jointly administered, the funding for it comes from one, not both parties.

c) Joint contributions. This funding model exists when both labor and management make financial contributions to a program. An example might be the savings program referred to in Chapter III when both employee and management make contributions. Indeed, the social security system is based upon the joint contribution principle between employer and employee.

d) Outside funding. Some service programs will be conducted at the workplace but funded neither by workers, unions, nor employer. Foundations and government may provide funds that are not contingent upon matching contributions.

e) User fees. Though unlikely to occur frequently some services can, theoretically, be supported, in full or in part, by fees charged to the users of the services. For example, an adult educational class in woodworking may make a modest charge to every participant to defray the costs of the instruction, material, and space. Or, every time an employee uses the services of a psychologist, he must pay a token fee that, in small part, helps to support this service. In such cases, of course, a user-fee may be useful to help involve the employee in the program, quite aside from helping to defray the service's costs.

f) Self-sufficiency models. A number of services are financially independent because they have steady sources of revenue as part of their system. They generate their own funds not only by user fees as in e) above,

but by other means, not always program related. For example, Chapter IV indicated how the entire recreational program at Mamouth Motors and at the Industrial Service Association is paid through revenues generated by the vending machine concessions. Some other private organizations receive considerable funds through life-insurance schemes. Buying clubs and credit unions are, of course, also financed by the operation of a service enterprise.

Neither the typology of organizational arrangements nor the one for funding mechanisms is complete, nor are the models indicated necessarily mutually exclusive. Mixed models will surely become evident. The point to be underlined is merely that there are various patterns for organizing and funding services. The program planner who limits himself arbitrarily to one or two may be unnecessarily restricting his options. There may be more programmatic arrows in his quiver than he realizes.

3. Two suggestive models

We have no intention of committing the single factor fallacy. As implied above, we are not about to suggest that only one or two models for the delivery of services at the workplace have viability.

There are, however, two particularly appealing organizational mechanisms for workplace services which we wish to highlight. Both of them appear to us highly capable of meeting the criteria enunciated in Section B above. One is an old pattern, namely the negotiated services resulting from collective bargaining. The other is a new suggestion--the Employee's Services Cooperative which represents an independent and voluntary organization discharging services at the workplace.

a) Negotiated services. Local #3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Association of Electrical Contractors have brought into being a services and benefits administrating mechanism that, by any standards, is big business. During 1971-72, the Joint Industry Board--as the two-party collaborative group is called--paid out annuity fund dividends of $6,339,267; for vacation benefits $4,478,335; for students to attend classes at the Board's camp $198,140; for the College Tuition Reimbursement Program $80,308; and for loans (mostly car loans) $2,341,311 (Annual Report, Joint Industry Board of the Electrical Industry, 1972).

These figures are impressive. They indicate what collective bargaining for services and benefits can achieve. In the case of the Joint Industry Board (whose policy setting Board is composed of an equal number of employer and employee representatives and whose one "public member" is former New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner) it has resulted in a full package of services and benefits that includes reunions of 600 retired electrical workers and wives in Florida, a Convalescent Home at the Board's camp, a Spring Arts Festival at headquarters (e.g. New York City Ballet dancing to music by Tchaikovsky and Vaughan-Williams), and a full scholarship program in which colleges such as Columbia, Princeton, Fordham, and Cornell participate.

How many organizational arrangements such as the above are there in the New York metropolitan area? Or in the United States? We asked persons who should know. They readily admitted that the Joint Board's program and

magnitude were unique, but were hard pressed to know exactly what benefit and service provisions other unions had negotiated. An educated guess by one of our interviewees was that approximately 20% of the collective bargaining agreements in the greater New York area contain comprehensive health plans. It appears that 28 unions in the area have medical centers. One publication claims that "approximately 1400 different health plans in the New York City area (are) negotiated by unions with their employers. . . ." (Cornell University, 1971, p. 1)

Whatever the exact figures, it is clear that collective bargaining has brought into being a sizeable benefits and services package administered often by two party collaboration. The financial input and commitment in such areas as health are major. It raises the question of what is to happen to negotiated arrangements for health benefits once the federal government, as can be expected, enters the health field more decisively than before. Proposals have already been forthcoming that such funds might be re-channeled into rehabilitation programs, prepaid legal services, day care centers, patient advocacy, health maintenance organizations, etc. (Ibid., pp. 19-21)

Program Recommendation #1: A survey, to be followed by an information program, should be undertaken about Negotiated Services and Benefits. The survey would detail what services and benefits have, in fact, been negotiated and what programs have consequently been initiated with what results. The information program would tell unions and interested employer groups of existing negotiated arrangements and generally raise the issue of non-work related services with these two parties. Information should also be made available about existing services provided by the public and private sectors, many of which are not sufficiently known to officials at the workplace (Weiner, 1971, p. 15).

It would appear that a number of universities and research organizations could accomplish both the survey and informational tasks. Publications, seminars, conferences, and demonstrations could result from such a program. One of the results of such an effort would be a general "consciousness raising" among unionists and personnel managers that non-work related services, as well as benefits, can be the subject of negotiation. We have been told that several union leaders have not given much thought to such a new frontier in bargaining and would be helped by informational services that can facilitate thoughtful consideration of the issue.

Another outcome of such a survey and informational program might be to stimulate industry and/or union efforts to pioneer or to continue to innovate, in service related areas with considerable daring. It should not be forgotten that some of the most exciting new ideas in medical insurance and medical facilities were first spawned by industrially related projects with the support of labor and/or management. (Witness the hospitals in Appalachia started after World War II by the United Mine Workers, open to the entire community, or the Kaiser plans on the West Coast. See Weiner, 1972, p. 29.)

b) Employees' services cooperative. An alternative to the negotiated services model should be explored. Not all workplaces are unionized and even in shops where bargaining agreements exist, neither party may wish to be burdened with the planning and execution of service programs. A third party

may well enter the workplace to deliver a number of services. What type of third party organization do we have in mind?

Program Recommendation #2: Three demonstration projects should be launched to test the feasibility of initiating Employees' Service Cooperatives which are user-oriented and user-controlled multi-service organizations operating at one or a cluster of workplaces. These Employees' Services Cooperatives resemble credit unions and represent an expansion of the credit union model to other areas of services.

Credit unions are a well established part of many workplaces. Presently there are 21 million members in 24,000 credit unions throughout the United States. Credit unions are found where individuals with "a common bond" organize themselves into a voluntary association for the purpose of facilitating savings and extending credit. In two out of three credit unions the workplace is the "common bond"; a survey conducted in 1964 indicated that 90% of corporations with employment over 5,000 persons had credit unions (National Industrial Conference Board, 1964, p. 78). While prevalent in many workplaces, the credit union does not "belong" to either management or union. It is a voluntary and independent membership association.

The credit union has an interesting pattern of accountability both downward toward its own constituency (a Board of Directors and Credit Committee are elected annually) and upward towards an audit committee and the National Credit Union Administration whose examiners inspect the credit union regularly. It is also significant that NCUA gives technical assistance to credit unions through its network of six regional offices.

Another aspect of the credit union that may, however, not be applicable to all other services, is the fact that they are financially self-sustaining. By making interest charges for loans, the credit union is able to pay dividends to savers and to cover modest administrative costs.

In brief, the credit union represents an organizational arrangement that is highly suggestive for the delivery of several services. The credit union's special features include a) its voluntary characteristic, b) its control by participating members, c) its structure of accountability, d) its acceptance on the American work scene, and e) its self-sustaining characteristics. These features appear to be congruent with and supportive of the criteria for services that we proposed earlier.

The organizational arrangement that gives rise to the credit union can be used and expanded, it seems to us, to cover other service categories. For example, buying clubs, consumer education activities, educational classes, workshops, income tax advice, group legal plans, group travel arrangements, counseling, and even the old standby, recreational services such as bowling leagues, might be planned and conducted by such an organization. The credit union model must be adapted, to be sure, to this larger assignment, but the basic thrust seems to be transferrable. Moreover, some of the regional and even national superstructures that overarch and support the local credit unions, appear to be adaptable for overseeing other services.

In order to test the extension of the credit union model we are proposing the following field demonstrations. Three existing institutions

should receive federal demonstration funds to organize Employees' Services Cooperatives in three separate geographical settings covering a county, metropolitan area, or even an entire state. We would suggest that these institutions be an existing credit union league (such leagues are often organized on a state-wide basis and are composed of local credit unions) a university extension program (such as a state university's labor-management institute), and a trade union council. For a three year period, these institutions would be asked to help organize Employees Services Cooperatives in workplaces where they have particular competence and credibility. Thus the credit union league would seek to expand existing credit unions in say ten workplaces; the university extension program would attempt to utilize its good offices with ten additional workplaces to found such cooperatives; and the union council would likewise seek to establish cooperatives in the framework of ten participating local unions.

Special attention would have to be placed upon those marginal workplaces that presently cannot support the services that most advanced corporations now enjoy. Perhaps half of the cooperatives to be organized should be in such service-underdeveloped workplaces. Needless to say, it is far more difficult to bring about an Employees' Services Cooperative in workplaces such as described in our Puerto Rican sub-sample than initiating a cooperative where employer and employee interests are already primed. We hope that experimental cooperatives can be established among hospital workers, farm laborers, municipal workers, clerical and retail employees, etc.

The personnel engaged in such an organizing effort need to be particularly skilled in establishing beach heads within different types of workplaces--beachheads of sympathetic managers or employees or union officials who, in turn, can take a leading part in organizing a constituency. A correlative skill is the organizer's capacity to deal with management, labor, and outside service providers, including the necessity of bringing these three parties into working relationships. Finally, such an organizer and his supporting institution need to have considerable experience in assessing needs of individuals in workplaces and helping to develop service programs that can be responsive to these needs.

The three participating institutions would need to carefully document the work that they and their organizers perform in various workplaces. There should be periodic meetings between the respective staffs to review developments in their programs. One of the outputs of the entire demonstration effort are three separate documents detailing what procedures were followed and what results were obtained, plus a single evaluation study performed by an independent evaluator. Finally, if the idea of the Employees' Services Cooperative appears to take hold, the three institutions could be asked to produce a handbook for establishing such employee organizations.

The three demonstrations should also try to establish to what extent the Employees' Services Cooperative can be self-supporting. Can some "money-making" services the costs of services that inevitably will lose money? The various schemes for self-support and user-payments should be explored and carefully monitored. For example, the earmarking of vending machine profits for services (see Mamouth Motors and Industrial Services Association in Chapter IV) should be critically reviewed. As with the cooperative's prototype, the credit union, a crucial indicator to its success

will be financial viability that will make it totally, or at least relatively independent of the treasuries of the union and management. Whether the cooperative can totally sustain itself outside public funding is more questionable; but if social services delivered in the community are paid out of the public purse, why not when they are discharged at the workplace?

D. Selected New Or Recast Programs

Below we are itemizing a number of specific program recommendations. Our hope is that these program proposals can be seen as functional sub-parts in the context of an overarching organization such as the Employees' Services Cooperative. If this were to happen, each specific program would stand in synergetic relationship to another since they would mutually strengthen one another's impact on employees. But even if the establishment of such a multi-faceted organization were not possible, we believe that these program proposals can stand separately on their own feet.

In citing these proposed programs there is one caveat we wish to stress at the very beginning. They must be viewed as malleable and not precise, mechanistic entities. These programs must be delicately handled and considerably sandpapered before they can be tailor-fitted into a given workplace. The process of implanting them is, as stated previously, crucial to their eventual success. The subtlest elephant traps along the way are preconceived "rational" notions of how to bring about services at the workplace.

In helping an organization to even consider adopting new services is a delicate process. For example, one of our recommendations below concerns a "Needs Assessment Program." This activity must not be misunderstood as being a rigid survey instrument to be administered in only one way, but as an idea that can easily be molded to suit individual situations. In one instance, a "Needs Assessment Program" may be nothing more than a schedule of quick and dirty conversations with only a few representatives of labor and management. In another situation, this program may involve a sophisticated survey utilizing computerized data collecting and retrieval mechanisms.

Much of the success of introducing new services depends on the skill with which the potential service provider can buy his way into the workplace system. Even if the advocate of services is clearly identified with the union or with management, one must convince one's own leadership, train and support functionaries to carry out the service, and build operational linkages, not only to the other institutional party at the workplace, but also to the community where many established services are provided. This delicate task becomes even more difficult if a third party, such as a university, attempts to benignly intervene in the workplace.

1. Needs assessment program

Services, in order to make sense, must be related to the needs of the consumer. And though many persons <u>think</u> they know what employee needs are, they really know of only selected needs of some persons. A labor educator told us that even union leaders don't know very much about the range of needs

of their constituency while a prominent labor leader admitted that he relied on lieutenants with considerable insight and experience concerning work and workers to help him cope with worker desires. In many ways, workplace services probably reflect the needs of employers more than the needs of employees. There is then, a considerable need to know about needs. Not abstractly, such as a Maslow needs pyramid, but rather concretely about items that employees themselves identify as desiderata, wants, perceived lacks, attainable goals.

We are proposing, therefore, concerted efforts to establish a Needs Assessment Program. Such a program entails essentially a self-survey conducted either by unions of their own membership, by employees with limited assistance from management, or under management auspices. The aim of the survey is to uncover areas of salient needs and potential services. The procedures for such a survey are to involve employees themselves, to a maximum degree, in the authorization of such a survey, in the compiling of results, and, most important, in the discussion of how the results should be fed back to the constituency and what action, if any, should be taken.

Program Recommendation #3: Demonstration funds should be made available to launch experimental Needs Assessment Programs at a variety of workplaces. Between four and six workplaces should be asked to create programs that develop employee-based needs data that will lend themselves to the planning of services. Unions, managements, and/or third parties can participate in this effort. There should be assurances of active employee involvement in the program.

It is expected that relatively modest funds would thus go to say, two trade unions, two managements, and two third-parties such as university-based extension services. A demonstration grant might last between six months and a year. Commitments should be obtained to assure that the assessment program will lead to earnest planning for actual services that will proceed with all deliberate speed. An independent evaluator should be appointed to monitor and compare the four to six programs.

A model that comes to mind concerning such a needs assessment program is the Community Self-Survey developed in the 1940s and 50s by social psychologists. (Wormser and Selltiz, 1951). The Community Self-Survey was often utilized in neighborhoods where citizens were concerned about some actual or potential problems that should be assessed. Teams of persons composing many segments of the community would construct an assessment instrument, receive training in interviewing or dealing with self-administered questionnaires, and in compiling results. Elaborate plans were made for feeding back the information to various citizen groups who then could decide whatever action appeared appropriate.

The author advised such a community self survey a number of years ago in a South Philadelphia section that was in the midst of racial change. A public school's PTA--interracial, mostly working class--tried to deal with what appeared an insurmountable problem. We became involved as a result of a joint request from the PTA president and the principal. After several preliminary meetings, a group of about 25 ladies from the PTA was chosen to design and conduct the self-survey. This group was trained in rudimentary interview methods and the territory of the neighborhood was divided amongst

these interviewers. Individual interviews and small group meetings were held. Considerable data were compiled and written up. The resulting information was discussed in small block gatherings as well as the PTA. A number of recommendations flowed from these gatherings: demands for a traffic light at a dangerous corner, a program to stop real estate block busting, a program to receive funds for housing rehabilitation, and an inter-group education program in the school.

This model is, we believe, applicable to the industrial scene. The self-survey could deal with a broad range of needs or could focus on more specific issues. For example, in one workplace the survey might assess employee needs and desires in the realms of counseling, recreation and leisure, economic enhancement, community affairs, legal matters; in other words, it might represent a broad-gauged, and in many ways an open-ended attempt to get a reading on wide-ranging concerns and needs. At a second workplace, however, the survey can deal with specific issues, say how women employees look upon their roles at work, or what employee experiences are about getting to work in the morning. (A car-pool arrangement may grow out of this latter inquiry.)

A trusted outside group could provide the all-important technical assistance function to union and/or management for such self-survey purposes. As already mentioned, a Labor Institute at a university might successfully play such a role. The role of such a technical assistant or consultant is central to the success of such a program. There are at least two crucial points at which the Needs Assessment Program needs expert guidance and consultation.

a) Desiring an assessment program and operationalizing it are two different things. Supposing a union wishes to conduct such a program, it will need considerable help in explicitly stating "researchable" goals and objectives for the program, in constructing assessment instruments, in pre-testing instruments, in training interviewers, in compiling results, and feeding them back to the constituency. Such a task is difficult even when conducted by social scientists without the active involvement of lay persons. When the task at hand becomes a self-survey, the technical problems of gaining accurate information become compounded. Not only must the consultant have substantive expertise in social research, he must also qualify as possessing skills in working with groups.

b) After the data are in, proposals for services to meet expressed needs must be established. Here again, a consultant or a staff must possess considerable skill and sophistication in program development and in encouraging active consumer involvement in the process. For example, a need may have been identified around, say, care of pre-school children of employees during working hours. This does not necessarily mean that a workplace Child Day Care Center is the only answer. A consultant must be knowledgeable enough to suggest possible solutions to his client group. A neighborhood-based Child Care Center may be an option, or a corporation grant to an existing proprietary nursery, or baby-sitting supplements, or staggered work hours enabling working mothers to establish a child care cooperative. The role of the consultant, then, is not one of passively translating needs into the most conventional service, but to help explore various options and the consequences of each proposed plan.

2. A new look at industrial counseling

After considerable experience with industrial counseling, including the guidance and personnel ventures, the union counselors, and such innovative programs as Rutgers University's Educational Advancement and Manpower Development, Beth Israel Hospital's Job Improvement Service Demonstration (Boston), the Union Counseling Program of the Community Services Committee of New York City's Central Labor Council, Columbia University's Industrial Social Welfare Center funded by HEW, and what appears to be a growing number of companies that are employing clinical psychologists and counselors to deal with off-the-job problems, is there anything new to be said about the subject? We think there is.

a) A proposal for study and action. In talking with several individuals knowledgeable about this area of endeavor we found little knowledge of what other people in industrial counseling are doing. Indeed, we received written and verbal requests from persons actively engaged in industrial counseling asking us to perform such catalytic functions--requests which rather overestimated our capacities since we neither consider ourselves industrial counselors nor as having a detailed knowledge of the field. In short, we believe that the field of industrial counseling is at the stage where enough experience has been gathered to permit a critical assessment of its nature, scope and efficacy, and to take a profound look at possible future developments.

Program Recommendation #4: A three stage project concerning industrial counseling should be undertaken, with special attention to non-work related problems of employees. The project should deal with data gathering about current practices in industrial counseling and demonstrations of innovative counseling models at a limited number of divergent workplaces.

The first of these three stages is a nation-wide study that maps the area of industrial counseling and identifies the counseling now being undertaken, the functions of such counseling, the persons conducting the counseling, the nature of the employer-clients who utilize the counseling, the organizational units who sponsor counseling, etc. Outstanding examples of counseling, probably in the form of case studies, should be part of such an assessment. It appears possible that such a study could be undertaken within a one year period.

The second stage of such a project would entail a consultation of selected individuals presently involved in industrial counseling, including counselors whether employed by management, a union or a third party; sponsors of counseling programs, again including management, union, and other sponsors such as a university based labor program; consumers of counseling, particularly blue collar employees; representatives of labor and management where no counseling is presently in existence; and governmental bodies that have vital interests in this subject. The purpose of this consultation would be to hear about the results of the national survey and to deliberate such questions as the following: How viable a service can a workplace related counselor provide concerning non-work problems? If the services are viable, what are the next important steps to be considered? Who should pay for such a service? Under whose sponsorship should it be? What, if any, should be government's roles in industrial counseling? Such a consultation might be

conducted by an academic institution, by the American Psychological Association's division dealing with industrial psychology, or by (or through) such bodies as the National Science Foundation's program on Research Applied to National Needs or the Urban Institute.

The third stage in this project would be the demonstration of innovative counseling services in two or three different work settings, utilizing divergent approaches to counseling. It seems reasonable to assume that stages I and II will produce not one pattern of initiating and conducting industrial counseling, but a number of models. They should be tested empirically. It may be well to try out two or three of the more suggestive patterns of industrial counseling in different settings.

The whole project may last a total of three years. Its three sub-parts should be related to one another, but may be conducted by different organizations. Similarly, the funding of this project may come from a variety of sources provided, of course, that there is a total framework--and a kind of conceptual umbrella--under which the various pieces find their proper place.

b) A possible model. During our short excursion through the territory of the industrial counselor we gathered a number of impressions that might well be among the propositions to be tested in our proposal above. Let us cite some of these impressions in staccato and very abbreviated form.

-- It appears to us that effective industrial counseling must not only concern itself with making referrals of employees in need of psychological help, but must also have the capacity actually to deliver a goodly number of such helping services directly at the workplace. The counselor must be more than an honest broker or a conduit between the employee-client and trained professional assistance in the community; he must be able to assume a pro-active role of giving advice.

-- The style and role of the counselor working with blue collar employees should, where appropriate, avoid the non-directiveness practiced in many middle class professional settings. Instead the industrial counselor must learn to be more responsive to the requests for concrete advice of the employee seeking it.

-- We began to question the utilization of counselors who were "one of the boys" or fellow-employees asked to perform a variety of counseling tasks. It seemed to us that a person asked to perform psychological services should have credibility as a problem-solver in the eyes of the employee-client and that most "guys in the shop" (regardless of receipt of limited counseling training) did not, in fact, measure up to this expectancy.

Some of these impressions resulted from the human relations counselor whom we observed in the trucking firm. We were impressed by the capacity of this counselor to relate to employees and to deal with a great variety of off-the-job issues. We felt that he was able to perform in this manner because of his previous human services experiences, training, and highly sophisticated skill. We also gained some of these impressions through our perusal of part of the literature on industrial counseling. But most consequential were our conversations with Professor Paul Rosenkrantz, a clinical and social psychologist at Holy Cross College and a person who had spent

many years as a production worker. Much of what follows is drawn from an essay on industrial counseling we asked him to prepare in which he reflects on a possible model for industrial counseling. It should be noted that Professor Rosenkrantz addresses himself primarily to blue-collar workers. This does not automatically make his observations irrelevant for white collar workers, but the frame of reference is the shop, the line, the factory, rather than the office.

-- Who is likely to benefit from industrial counseling?

In general, the likelihood of emotional problems among blue collar workers is higher than among white collar workers. (This issue has not been well studied but present evidence, including the Hollingshead and Redlich data, A. A. McLean's Mental Health and Work Organizations, and selected data on alcoholism appears to support the above statement.) When troubled by emotional problems, blue collar workers are less likely to avail themselves of existing community facilities and allow their conditions to deteriorate before calling for help.

People who are preoccupied with interpersonal difficulties or intrapersonal problems are likely to drop in their productivity in a variety of ways. Their attendance is likely to be less regular. Their chances of having an accident will go up. Their problem-solving ability will go down. Alcohol and drugs as tranquilizer may be used. If a way is found to get such employees to avail themselves of skilled help reasonably early, in most instances the problem can be improved rapidly and if not, the worker can be referred to an existent community resource. The average number of sessions per completed case in the "Beth Israel" study was 2.7. The work setting appears particularly well suited for such short term counseling.

Another substantial benefit for a company providing industrial counseling services may be improvement of general morale through provision of a valuable service which was not negotiated in collective bargaining. One way to look at the service of the counselor is that he or she would provide a personal concern of the type that in other historical periods was given by the immediate superior or the owner of the company. While at the beginning, most workers may consider the existence of such a service irrelevant to them, this should quickly change. The experience of "Overland Freight" would no doubt be replicated and roughly one third of employees should have some contact with the counselor in a year. After two or three years a substantial majority of the workers would have benefited in some way from the help which would not have been accessible to them but for the fact that they were in the employment of the company.

-- How should the counselor function?

The skilled industrial counselor functioning in the work setting will have to delicately balance the problem of establishing his role and his status. The basic problem is that in order to be effective he needs to be seen by the potential clients as a person of special competence and perhaps of special wisdom, thus not as "one of us," and at the same time he must be seen clearly as separate from management. He must be easily accessible and at the same time sufficiently apart, so that concerns over confidentiality would not keep any workers away from him. The issue of confidentiality is

not only that the information contained in a counseling session would remain private, but that the appearances of confidentiality be scrupulously maintained. Special care is needed to develop and protect trust in settings which intrinsically are not conducive to trust.

In a society that stresses the fee-for-service principle, the employee might well feel short-changed if he brought his problems to a fellow employee who is a para-professional counselor. As will be stated later, the advantages of supposed accessibility and perceived understanding ("he really talks our language") can be overcome by a well trained counselor. While para-professionals have important contributions to make to human services, the one-to-one counseling relationship is not necessarily the most useful area for their employment. Para-professionals can function well in a bridge-building capacity, that is, in linking reluctant employees to the appropriate professional service.

The counselor should be in a position of relative independence. This raises the question of who he should be accountable to. One pattern might have him or her be responsible to neither management nor organized labor, but to a third party such as a university based industrial service. For the time being, however, it seems more likely that the counselor will be hired by and responsible to management. In such a case, management would have to be satisfied with maintaining minimum of supervision over the counselor's activities. The criteria for the evaluation of his or her work would require clear articulation so that progress reports could be examined by enlightened and sympathetic superiors. The problem of "productivity" of any counseling effort is difficult to assess and pitfalls can be avoided by articulating modest and clear goals.

With the concern for the trust-confidentiality dimension, it would be advisable that the temptation to use the professional skills of the counselor to "improve the human qualities" of supervising personnel be resisted. If such management-oriented services are desired they should be provided by an outside consultant.

When a worker is referred for help by a superior or another member of management it would be advisable to limit subsequent contact about the progress of the particular worker to a "thank you" after the first session during which it should be made clear that additional discussion could harm the future progress of that person and of other workers who might be referred in the future.

The physical locale for the initial counseling sessions presents a real problem. Subsequent sessions could be easier to locate. Initial contact, especially during the first year of the counselor's presence to the workplace, must be facilitated to the maximum degree. "Aggressive availability" is a good way to describe this posture of the counselor. The concrete working out of this posture would depend on the physical setting of the workplace. The possibility for approaches which are relatively public in form, but absolutely private in content, may be developed around cafeterias, rest areas, etc. Subsequent sessions can be held in a special office located in such a way that the very fact of going there would not automatically label the employee as "a psychological case." As will be pointed out later, such an office might well share functions with other services such as

information about insurance, legal aid, community services, health, etc., thus making it more readily approachable. This broadening of the counseling office's role will also make it possible for the employees seeking advice to define self as a "non-patient," thus protecting his self-esteem. The extent of fear of "mental illness" and general prejudice about psychological problems is social class related with blue collar employees particularly vulnerable to such negative attitudes.

The type of guidance which the counselor will be called on to give will differ from one work setting to another. The age of workers, their sex, ethnic background, type of community in which the workplace is located, and the type of work will each affect the service required. The universal skill which all industrial counselors must possess is "crisis intervention." This will require direct ability to alleviate the immediate anxiety which brought the worker to the initial contact, and the skill to initiate solution of problems which may involve others close to the worker. Knowledge of other community resources will be indispensable here, but vastly more important will be the counselor's skill in responding to the initial request with some counsel.

The emotional problem which the worker brings to the counselor, most of the time will also involve family problems, marital problems, legal problems, medical problems, and/or financial problems. The fact that the worker will choose the counselor as the appropriate person toward whom to turn for help will indicate that the initial crisis dimension of the situation requires primary intervention.

During the initial session a certain proportion of the problems will likely turn out to be job-related. Most of these problems should be referred for further discussion to other more appropriate people, such as foremen, personnel department, union grievance people, etc. To handle such problems beyond the first session would lead the counselor into conflict with existing procedures involving influential members of the work community and in addition, are likely to prove ineffective from the point of view of the worker.

Environmental manipulation tempting though they may be both to the client and to the counselor, should be strongly avoided. The counselor will not be a super-person and the effectiveness of such intervention rather than lead to better relationship is likely to disappoint and weaken the relationship with the client. In addition, this would become very time consuming as a kind of appeal procedure for judgment of others. The only exception to this rule would be emotional crisis developed from such causes as the worker being involved in an industrial accident, either as a victim or as a witness. Some of these disturbances would need to be referred for more intensive treatment, others may be treated even over relatively long time without referral. The decision or disposition of such cases would be made in each instance based on the concrete situation.

The fifty minute therapeutic sessions need not constitute the base of the counselor's contact. In recent years many community mental health facilities developed techniques for dealing with even severe problems in shorter sessions (from 15 minutes to 45 minutes) and with relatively few visits. There is also evidence that blue collar workers expect more directive advice giving--and thus can profit from briefer sessions than required

for white collar or professional clients. A policy thus can be established limiting the number of available sessions to a few of flexible length. This not only makes the economy of industrial counseling more manageable but it also makes the procedure one which fits the expectancy of the worker.

In caricature, the relatively young blue collar worker would expect to present his understanding of the problem to an "expert." The expert would assess the situation, propose a solution and proceed to be the active person in correcting whatever needs to be done to make the crisis disappear. Essentially, accepting the medical model the client expects to remain a passive beneficiary of the expert's skill, wisdom and influence. If substantial relief of anxiety does not come about in the first two or three sessions the chances are that the counselor will not be given more time to do his work.

-- Recruitment and training of industrial counselors.

The optimal age of an Industrial Counselor is likely to vary with the average age of the work force. The general principle to follow is that the counselor should be somewhat older than most workers. This should stop being a consideration when the age of the counselor becomes 35 or older. A background of industrial experience would be helpful, but only to the extent that it would facilitate the understanding on the part of the counselor of work problems and of outside reality contributing to the emotional difficulties. The employee-client must simultaneously identify with the counselor and at the same time attribute to the counselor "healing" qualities. A counselor who is "one of the boys" will meet the first of these two criteria, but not the second.

At the present time, recruitment of counselors would probably be most productive from professions which in the course of their work have substantial experience in dealing with blue collar workers. Ministers who had counseling training and experience are a good potential source. Social workers and community organizers whose training and experience included counseling may also prove effective. Recently a wide range of use and of training of para-professional personnel has produced some people who may ideally function as industrial counselors. In general, the approach to selection will have to be flexible, emphasizing experience with the social class of the clients rather than on elegant training in "mental health."

It can be argued, therefore, that presently there is a considerable pool of persons ready and eager to become industrial counselors--persons who have had human services experiences and who could be adapted to industrial counseling through intensive, but relatively short-term training. If industrial counseling should become wide-spread in American enterprises it would create in the long run a need for substantial number of pre-trained counselors. This need could be filled by instituting educational programs for such new professionals. For pure delivery of service--as distinguished from supervision or research--training at undergraduate level should suffice. The widening base of current undergraduate enrollment includes larger numbers of students from blue collar homes. Many of these students have worked in industry prior to college enrollment. Some continue blue collar jobs while students. The level of educational aspiration of many of these students is the attainment of a bachelor's degree in a hope that it will provide them with the skill and credentials needed to enter the white collar job market.

Provided that job opportunities for industrial counselors can be demonstrated the development of industrial counselors training programs in colleges and universities located in urban settings should be seriously considered. Such programs should carefully select students, preferably those with prior industrial background. In addition to general education, the program should emphasize courses in urban sociology, industrial sociology, human biology, and, of course, courses in counseling. The last two years should include part-time internship in industrial counseling locations. These internships should be supervised by personnel at the job as well as by qualified school personnel. Eventually, a process of credentialing industrial counselors might be undertaken by universities--including external degree colleges--and/or professional organizations.

-- Evaluation

The problem of evaluating of any mental health services has been traditionally considered very elusive. The criteria are difficult to come by, control groups usually are not equivalent, and the pre-post intervention design is open to strong criticism. In light of this, a multi-dimensional evaluation approach is suggested.

When the primary reason for a company to provide counseling services is increased productivity by decreasing turnover, then reducing accident rate and improving morale may be good evaluative criteria. Each of these indexes can be assessed by comparing a substantial period of time prior to initiating of the counseling service with equal period after it began. If the product is one that can be measured in a unit output, a comparison for the plant as a whole for the year before with a year starting six months after the initiation of service would probably be the most convincing measure.

Labor turnover can be measured over a similar time span if an equivalent job market can be assumed for the population studied. This measure would be sensitive to job market fluctuations and thus may not be convincing. Accident rates for the plant as a whole, compared in an analogous facility may provide a valuable index.

Morale, which would be reflected in the above measures can also be examined independently by an attitude questionnaire administered by an outside agency before and after. Here an interesting bit of information would be the attitude of those who used the service compared with those who have not.

Another approach which may be used is questioning both of the potential client pool as well as the supervisory employees about their perception of the usefulness of the service. While this measure would not be as easily translated into cost-benefit analysis, it would provide information about the morale effect of the service.

The efficiency of the service can also be assessed by interviewing of a sample of clients and of the counselor by a team consisting of outside counselors as well as experienced personnel people. They could report the more subjective response to the service.

The major problem of adequately and persuasively measuring the impact of this service in "objective" output terms will be contamination by outside

forces such as fluctuations in the labor market. "Subjective" measures, such as the assessment by a team of "experts" leave the conclusions tentative, and permit rejection of the conclusion by any doubting party. This dilemma can be solved probably only by the use of a combination of "objective" and "subjective" methods. When the outcome of both are congruent most buyers of the service are likely to be satisfied.

-- Who sponsors the industrial counseling service?

It is often assumed that the corporation or the union sponsors a counseling program. (The above model assumes that management would sponsor the program.) Can a third party be the sponsor?

The question is intriguing since a neutral party delivering counseling services would probably have a much easier time assuring confidentiality and objectivity. The counselor would not have the handicap of being perceived as inextricably tied to the institutional purposes of management or labor. Perhaps a university-based counseling service could perform such services to one, or a number of workplaces. It is conceivable that such a third party counseling service could be funded by a tri-partite contributions formula: government, management and labor.

The one example we discovered of a third party conducting extensive industrial counseling actually sells its services to several firms in a metropolitan area and in some ways resembles the inter-industry model of the Industrial Services Association described in Chapter IV. The Industrial Counseling Service of Greensboro, North Carolina (here we use actual names and places) services 17 industries in the metropolitan area. The Service was started in 1966 by a number of firms as a non-profit corporation that initially addressed itself primarily to problems of alcoholism and drugs. Its function has now expanded to include "professional counseling to troubled employees and their families (including) . . . marital and emotional difficulties. All appointments are kept in the strictest of confidence and patients know there will be absolutely no feedback to their employers."

The organizational arrangement and the funding pattern is that of a semi-independent affiliated institution of the 17 industries. The Board of Directors of the Service is composed of a representative from each industry, regardless of the size of the firm. (Participating corporations range in size from 175 to 5500 employees with a total labor force of over 20,000.) Each corporation is asked to pay $500 per year, plus $1 for each employee. In other words, the Service operates on a retainer basis, rather than charging on the basis of actual individuals served. The Service's Director is the only full-time professional staff member with three regular part-time counselors rounding out the staff. An average of 250 new cases per year are serviced. Interviews take place either at the worksite or at the downtown location of the Service. According to the Director, a corporation's medical facilities are utilized whenever available for interviews; confidentiality is heightened and visibility reduced in such a setting. (Medical officers and nurses also appear to be among the most helpful referring agents to the Service.) Much counseling takes place in 30 minute sessions and often lasts for six sessions or longer. Counseling takes place on company time and, as indicated, often on company property.

Interestingly, the case load of the Service is heavily skewed in the direction of middle management and up. Not many blue collar workers appear to avail themselves of the Service. "They are looking for concrete answers," the Director said, "And want to know what they should do right now."

Even though the Industrial Counseling Service is not oriented towards blue collar employees and even though its policy control is tied to management through its Board of Directors, independence of professional services seems to have been maintained, especially the Service's credibility for confidentiality. The third party model appears alive and well in at least one industrial counseling setting.

-- The counseling service as part of a larger organizational unit.

The human relations counselor described in Chapter V told us that he sometimes is identified as "the company shrink." He tried to overcome this negative assessment of psychological services by engaging in aggressive availability and by deliberately exposing himself to individual employees. A "psychological" or "counseling" office so labelled probably discourages a number of employees from making use of its services. If the office were known by another name and would have a wider variety of functions, such employees might, however, utilize it. For example, an "Office of Personal Services" would cover legal advice, health screening, insurance counseling, volunteer activities, and a variety of related issues--including psychological counseling--would probably heighten its approachability. An employee with a given problem that he may or may not recognize to be psychological, would probably seek out this office "in order to get some advice on a legal question" much more readily than admitting to periodic depressions and seek help to alleviate them.

3. Information and legal assistance program

Our own survey revealed considerable employee need for a variety of information, from assistance with income tax preparation to where to get help for a child who was experiencing problems in school. Authors such as Weiner (1972) and Kahn (1966) point to the same need for informational services. Similarly, legal services appear to be a closely related function in need of discharge at the workplace. District Council 37, AFSCME is about to launch a massive legal services program, initially under a foundation grant. The report of the union counseling program of the New York City Central Labor Council indicates as its recommendation #1 the need to include legal advice at the workplace (Nelson, 1969, p. 24). As one of our expert interviewees stated, "management provides informal legal services for high ranking officials, but not for other employees." There is little doubt in our mind that informational and legal services represent a high priority need for working people.

Program Recommendation #5: Deliberate efforts should go forward at a minimum of two workplaces to meld legal services on the one hand and general information giving and counseling, on the other.

Currently there is considerable movement afoot to establish group legal services. (Grimes, 1972, Ottenberg, 1972, National Consumer Center

for Legal Services, 1972, and Congressional Bills, such as S. 1422, "To establish a National Institute of Justice"). It appears that some of the legal hurdles, such as prohibiting employer contributions to prepaid group legal services, may be overcome.

We welcome the advent of group legal services in the form of both actual delivery of legal services at or through the workplace and legal insurance as a needed addition to the benefit and services package for American employees. However, we have been impressed by the relative neglect of joining formal legal services with related activities in the realm of advice giving, information giving, and counseling. It seems to us that these functions belong together. The employee who approaches the legal services representative may likely have related concerns for additional information or counseling. Similarly, the employee who goes to the counselor may, in many cases, need legal opinion, such as in the case of an impending separation. It would be highly desirable at this juncture in the development of legal services (legal assistance and prepaid legal insurance) and information and counseling services to bring these closely allied activities under one operational roof.

We wish to propose, therefore, the experimental initiation of two information and legal services offices, one within a union setting and the other initiated by management or a third party. One of the key requirements in this proposal is the availability of trained professionals or paraprofessionals knowledgeable not only in legal matters but also a wide range of informational services.

Two prototypes are involved in this suggested coordination of functions: the neighborhood legal services program (much of the thrust for such community-based legal services appears to have been stimulated by the war on poverty, and other New Frontier and Great Society programs, see U. S. Department HEW, 1946; Wals, 1965; and for a recent critical assessment Henderson, 1971, pp. 483-512) and the neighborhood information center. Both of these models are community based. We believe that they have eminent applicability to the workplace. While the neighborhood legal services model is widely known, the idea of the neighborhood information center has not become a household word, even among social workers. It may be useful, therefore, to review the suggestions made by Professor Alfred Kahn and his colleagues (1966, pp. 112-119) about the functions of such a center. Many of its functions intersect with traditional legal services and others go clearly beyond them:

a) To provide simple information, such as where something is located or how to get there . . . make the service accessible to people.

b) To provide information about more complex matters, such as the provisions of a law or an agency's function . . .

c) To clarify the significance of a statute or a provision for a specific person . . .

d) To give advice on how to proceed . . . suggesting a course of action . . .

e) To steer to an agency or service able to help . . .

f) To refer to the right agency. Going beyond steering, one may arrange for an appointment, send a referral letter or summary, facilitating the transition from inquiry to service . . .

g) To provide a supporting, friendly relationship . . .

h) To help the inquirer with the contact--or to make it for him . . .

i) To go beyond the presenting problem in helping people . . .

j) To carry out formal diagnostic study . . .

k) To carry out continuing counseling and treatment . . .

l) To follow through (aggressively if necessary) until the inquirer has his needs or his rights recognized . . .

m) To seek program and policy changes in agencies (policy and program advocacy) . . .

n) To conduct general community education . . .

o) To recruit potential clients . . . to reach the most deprived and alienated . . .

p) To monitor and report one's experience with human needs and public provision . . .

q) To facilitate the self-organization of people with common problems . . .

The Kahn report is weighted, as is to be expected, in the direction of social work practice. But even this all-too-brief summary of recommendations shows that the neighborhood information center model could be combined with legal services and counseling. Indeed, the recitation of proposed functions above overlaps in most cases with the functions of the Human Relations Counselor described in Chapter IV.

Should the proposed Information and Legal Assistance Program spread its organizational wings to cover an industrial ombudsman? We feel rather ambivalent about this question. On the one hand, both an ombudsman and the legal and information officer would see many of the same persons with problems or grievances. And both would need to know the system of workplace and of the community in order to help the inquiring employee. On the other hand, the ombudsman needs to have considerable independence and power to function, including the power to demand accountability from various parts of the organization, which the information and legal assistance office is not likely to enjoy.

In order to function effectively, the proposed industrial Information and Legal Assistance Program would require, as a minimum, two essential ingredients. First of all, the program requires personnel that is skilled

in eliciting concerns from employees, treating these concerns confidentially, and supplying applicable information and/or referral. Secondly, the staff must have access to a considerable data-base on a variety of subjects. There must be, for example, intimate acquaintance with community institutions, administrative offices and procedures, sources of help, etc. In addition, the staff member must have the knack of an inquiring reporter in getting information that may not be readily available.

This is a tall order of skill requirement. But the potential pool of persons to handle such a task is large and could be recruited and trained in rather short order. The manpower pool includes clergymen who desire a career change, neighborhood leaders trained in the war on poverty or model cities program, some retired members of the uniformed services, personnel and guidance professionals, and, of course, talented employees presently working in another capacity.

A more ambitious variation to this Program Recommendation of initiating at least two joint informational-legal services de novo would be to deliberately contrast five different models for performing these services. The five models to be tested would include:

a) The existing legal services that presently take place through regular company channels in relatively few workplaces. (The National Industrial Conference Board, 1964, found only 15% of manufacturing firms to give "assistance in preparation of personal income tax reports"; 4% "assistance in the preparation of wills," and 9% "legal advice other than preparation of wills and personal income," p. 86.)

b) Information and counseling services, on the one hand, and legal services on the other, administered as separate entities.

c) The combination of these two functions in essentially one service, as proposed above.

d) Concentration on referral of employees from the workplace to information and legal services in the community.

e) A control group where no additional services are rendered.

Such a study would hardly qualify as a model of experimental research since the variables to be controlled will remain very elusive. Nevertheless, experiences gained from the monitoring of four different types of programs and one status quo control would be instructive in testing the value of a joint legal-informational constellation.

A less ambitious alternative to our original proposal would be a conference concerning industrial legal and informational services. Such a meeting would bring together lawyers, counselors, librarians, data retrieval personnel, social service officials, governmental representatives and, of course, delegates from union and management. The purpose of the conference would be to assess the feasibility of strengthening or initiating legal-informational services at the workplace.

4. The workplace as a learning center

We believe that many educational frontiers are yet to be conquered in America. Among the most exciting of these frontiers is the realm of post-elementary and secondary school education for adults. We are convinced that the workplace can play a crucial role in such endeavors. Perhaps it is utilizing an overly dramatic label, but we believe that part of the workplace's function can be viewed as being a learning center.

The notion of post-school education for working men and women is, of course, not new. The London Mechanics Institute, originated by George Birbeck in 1823, sought to help workers "in the principles of the arts they practice, and in the various branches of science and useful knowledge" (Houle, 1973, p. 28). To this day, much of adult and labor education occurs outside the confines of the workplace, in union halls, residential colleges, civic buildings, etc. Running against this trend are management-sponsored programs which, as Chapter III indicates, often take place on company premises. Other on-site educational activities are sponsored by a third party. One such example was the course taught by the author of this report for union stewards on company premises and on company time, sponsored by the state university (Spiegel, 1950, pp. 61-65).

Now, however, a new historical moment is upon us. The social contract of work is being re-examined. Concurrently, traditional notions of education are being challenged. The idea of life-long learning is gaining in popularity. A recent report advocates the ". . . conception of the United States as a Learning Society" with national policy explicitly directed towards learning of all citizens, regardless of age (Center for Continuing Education, 1973, p. 2). Why not, then, utilize the workplace as a primary, rather than very minor arena where educational services are discharged?

We wish to explore below the dramatically stepped up use of the workplace both for the delivery of educational and related services and for information and personal counseling about such services delivered elsewhere.

a) Needs that workplace education can meet. As we mentioned earlier, the workplace has a unique advantage over traditional educational institutions because numerous persons, representing in many respects a captive audience, are ready targets for educational services and because peer-, union-, and/or management pressures can help motivate participation in educational activities. But beyond these organizational considerations, what individual worker needs can workplace based education fulfill?

In brief, 1) the need for credentialing, usually in the form of an academic degree; 2) the need to facilitate vocational and professional advancement; 3) the need to learn to cope with one's community, family, and self; and 4) the need to learn as a value in itself. In these realms, workplace education can make, we believe, important contributions. Each one of these needs might well be further articulated.

1) The need for credentialling. Americans pride themselves about the high level of schooling provided by private and public educational institutions. Not only are there millions of persons involved in higher education, but there is a rather complete system of post secondary school programs above

and beyond the traditional college programs. There are adult education courses, extension activities, external degree programs, labor education, on the job training, vocational training, and many other instrumentalities that take an individual through an educational process that supposedly equips him for a better job and/or, to use the phrase often employed, a better life. It may come as something of a shock to realize that despite these plethora of educational activities, many adults in America don't even have a high school diploma. A study of five central New York State counties, for example, revealed that 43% of citizens over 25 years of age lacked a high school diploma (Bailey et al., 1973, p. 9). It appears likely, that a workplace employing blue collar workers may have even higher percentages of individuals in this category.

Many Americans desire to achieve the credential of the High School diploma, an Associate or Bachelor's degree, or a certificate that gives evidence of the conclusion of a given course of studies. Rightly or wrongly, we reside in a credentials-conscious society. It should be possible for workplace-based educational services to significantly help the employee who desires to meet this goal.

2) The need for vocational and professional advancement. Closely tied to credentialing (which often is a pre-condition for advancement) is the desire by many employees to "get ahead," seek promotions, move to more responsible (and better paying) positions. In certain sectors of the economy, the paths for such advancement are fairly regularized, such as in civil service. Realizing this, some organizations such as District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have instituted educational activities that prepare employees for examinations and tests. (District 37 sponsors a Saturday morning TV course that currently enrolls over 1000 union members and reaches many additional persons on a regular TV channel.) Several companies offer such opportunities, sometimes in rather sophisticated fashion as illustrated by selection and training procedures for team leaders in Mamouth Motors (Chapter IV).

It should be possible to present such opportunities for advancement without difficulty when both the management and union see eye-to-eye about internal promotions. Where management insists on lateral hiring or where management fears that training for advancement will, in fact, lead to employees thus trained seeking positions elsewhere, the welcome mat may be removed for such workplace educational efforts. But even where such resistance is encountered, it should be possible to find alternative sites, probably in the community, where advancement training can take place.

3) The need to learn how to cope in a variety of settings. We all need to cope with a variety of situations in the everyday business of living in an urbanizing world. There may be simple technological matters we have to learn to master such as fixing an electrical outlet or diagnosing a malfunctioning part of the car. There may be psychological and social issues with which we must cope: a suspicion of mental health problems in a loved one, or the lack of communication between members of the family. And there may be community issues that have us confused, such as police injustice that never seems to be corrected, or the clarification of complicated housing regulations. Workplace education should be responsive to these issues of coping. We usually seek to satisfy this need through informal contacts with

colleagues and friends. There may be a more systematic way of dealing with such needs at and through the workplace through organized seminars, specially arranged cable TV programs during the lunch period, counseling programs, etc.

4) Finally, there is the need or the desire for learning for its own sake. Many persons want to acquire information, treat data, acquire new skills, deal with ideas, discover the why's and wherefore's of given phenomena not for monetary reasons, or vocational advancement, but for the sheer excitement and joy of learning, or for ancillary benefits that may be derived from, say, the human association in a class of interesting people. The variety of hobby classes described in Chapter III may be examples of this kind of activity.

b) Program elements necessary to meet above needs. Whatever program is proposed for workplace education, it must, according to our view, contain at least the following elements in order to meet the above needs or goals:

1) The program must maximize the variety of educational resources and offerings accessible to potential users. The number of educational resources in any given geographical area is staggering. There are regular courses offered in secondary schools, colleges, community colleges, graduate schools, adult education programs, foreman training, other management training, union education, vocational schools and institutes, trade associations, federations of unions, storefronts, chambers of commerce, political groups, libraries, museums, art galleries, governmental agencies, etc. Beyond formal classes there are institutes, ad hoc meetings, regular conferences, demonstrations, symposia, etc. which may have educational benefits for participants. There are numerous individuals with special skills who are actual or potential tutors, language specialists, subject matter specialists, etc. In other words, there are many potential educational resources located at the very doorsteps of the potential user. Many of these activities and resource persons may be available to an interested employee free of charge or on a fee basis. A training program conducted by Company A might welcome participants from Company B and Governmental Office C, particularly when reimbursed for charges. But in order for such joint use of a resource to occur Company A must first be approached about this possibility, and Company B and Governmental Office C must know about the program's existence and availability. Substantial savings in educational expenditures could thus be achieved.

The Syracuse study cited above (Bailey, 1973) recommends the formation of an Educational Resource Directory ("information on all resources, whether school based or out of school") and Regional Instructional Reserve ("a talent bank of tutors who have been approved by academic panels"). Whatever the system, a way has to be found to make information readily available to the potential participant in educational programs concerning the offerings and resources that are available.

2) The program must counsel the potential user to a) assess his existing level of accomplishments, skills, and needs; b) clarify his personal and vocational goals and consequent curricular desiderata; and c) help him map an educational program tailored to his needs, including detailed information of educational resources and how to utilize them.

This is no small task. It requires counselors capable of relating to employees, skilled in assessing personal needs, sophisticated in programming special courses of study, and patient beyond words. Tests may have to be administered. The counselor may have to visit various community resources on behalf of individuals and groups of employees and will probably engage in considerable negotiation with educational resources that are generally not viewed, nor view themselves as "educational" resources. The program will do well to avoid excessive use of the educational cafeteria approach which presents the potential user with a wide variety of choices of goodies without counseling the individual as to his capacity and need at educational consumption. To quote the Syracuse study, adults who have been away from formal education can be expected to encounter problems of "lack of confidence, inadequate study skills, inability to make appropriate choices from wide educational options, unrealistic expectations and impatience with the apparent irrelevance of some of the studies in life and job" (Bailey, 1973, p. 14). The lesson of "the service that almost wasn't" (Chapter V) is evident in this context: a well planned, well staffed program is necessary for a variety of services to succeed. We very much suspect that an educational program oriented towards individual needs falls into this category.

3) The program must be willing to supplement traditional classes and courses with other educational activities. In fact, it will be most difficult not to overstep the boundaries of traditional "education" in launching an industrially based educational program. For example, if the potential user of an educational service evidences a health or a psychological problem that needs to be solved, the educational program cannot shelve this need, but must respond to it through referral or through directly suggesting a course of action to meet it. Many educators have been arguing that educational needs and other human needs cannot be artificially separated. The educational endeavor, particularly one that claims to be able to work with adults, must be ready to deal with a wide variety of issues that the user brings into the educational situation.

4) If at all possible, the programs should avoid the artificial dividing line between secondary, college, and adult education. The program should be able to deal in all three. If a potential user is interested in obtaining a High School equivalency degree, the program should be able to help him as well as his colleague who is interested in obtaining an external degree from a college. It appears dysfunctional to have several educational programs dealing with persons of different educational accomplishments in the same work situation.

5) The program should take its lead from the concerns of the user, rather than offering a pre-determined set of options. There is great danger, it seems to us, to use standard educational fare on workforces that have anything but standard needs. The example of the Puerto Rican workers in Chapter IV is a graphic illustration. From reading their case it is obvious that one of the least important needs they have at this time and place is an extensive recreation program whereas educational endeavors directed towards bettering their housing and income positions would meet a highly valued felt need. With another group of employees, needs priorities may be reversed. The point is simply that educational programs must spring from a careful assessment of needs and desires of constituencies--and that members of these constituencies be party to such decisions.

c) The industrial educational consortium.

Program Recommendation #6: Two or three educational Consortia should be experimentally established, preferably within the framework of an Employees' Services Cooperative, to plan, manage, and deliver a variety of educational services at and through several workplaces. These experimental Consortia should serve a given geographical area, probably a metropolitan area, or a specially designated group of industries. Initially, these educational Consortia might well concentrate their efforts on small and medium size enterprises where, as shown in Chapters II and III, the need for services may be greatest and the availability of services smallest.

The aim of the educational Consortia would be to permit and encourage individual employees to acquire, to the maximum degree practicable, educational competencies, understandings, and credentials that are consistent with their own desires and capacities.

It would be quite appropriate for both management and unions to continue or initiate educational activities to serve their own organizational ends while, at the same time, other services are rendered by the Consortium. There should be no attempts to inhibit management, for example, from training personnel for greater efficiency or job satisfaction. But to expect management to institute, run, and fund educational endeavors that have little direct bearing on the employee's job function appears unrealistic and, in the end, self-defeating.

The idea of educational Consortia is rapidly gaining adherents. The 1973 Consortium Directory published by the American Association for Higher Education cites 80 "cooperative arrangements involving 797 members." With only two or three exceptions, these consortia appear to be focused on higher education. (St. Louis is one of the exceptions where the public school system is part of the consortium. We have been unable to determine whether this means that such activities as helping employees obtain high school equivalency degrees are part of the consortium's task.) One consortium, in Worcester, Massachusetts, has conducted Spanish instruction for employees of a hospital so as to better service Spanish speaking staff and patients. But generally, unfortunately, there is not sufficiently detailed information available about workplace related activities of Consortia, which leads us to Activity Recommendation #7: The eighty existing educational Consortia should be questioned about workplace-related educational activities presently conducted or anticipated. This recommendation appears rather easy to execute. The American Association for Higher Education, which is in continuous contact with the Consortia, has already expressed an interest to us to assist in such an effort.

The services rendered by such an educational Consortium would include the following activities:

1) Educational assessment and counseling at the workplace (at specially designated times either during or after work hours, depending on local conditions) for individual employees or groups of employees. Such assessment procedures would follow Program Element #2 cited a few pages ago and be conducted by skilled staff members of the Consortium in close cooperation with representatives of the labor force.

2) Counsel, plan, coordinate, and help conduct educational programs directed toward certification. In close cooperation with High School Equivalency programs, external degree programs in higher education, existing junior and senior colleges, and State departments of education, the Consortium should provide the means for employees to obtain degrees (such as High School diploma, Associates of Arts and Bachelor's degrees, special certificates) without necessarily leaving the workplace for the traditional residential educational sequence. It appears feasible that the Consortium can enter into contractual relationships with degree granting institutions for this purpose; it also appears likely that the Consortium can receive funds from such bodies to help defray costs associated with such services (e.g. counseling and other direct-service personnel costs, costs of testing students, costs of administering program).

In brief, the Consortium becomes the manager of an educational program that has as its special client the employees of a series of workplaces who are interested in obtaining academic degrees or other certification.

3) The Consortium should offer a variety of educational programs (such as a series of meetings, or workshops, or classes) that appear to meet expressed needs of the workforce as determined by the initial assessment of needs and subsequent discussions with employees. Activities in this rubric may include classes in sculpting, a course in public speaking, a lunch-time program on home repair, workshops about sensitivity training, a course about contemporary American playwrights, an introductory survey of city planning, a two hour mini-conference on consumer protection, and a series of discussions on family budgets.

4) The Consortium should also be able to provide highly individualized, tailor-made programs of study for individuals or groups desiring them. This may include programs for overweight employees, three sessions with parents of adolescents, a single ad hoc discussion after work on a topic of current interest, and a course of studies for a single individual on starting an after-work enterprise. It is in this category where a number of endeavors will probably cross the demarcation line of traditional "education." For example, employees who are economically disadvantaged may wish to delve into an issue traditionally the preserve of social workers, such as how to maximize welfare benefits.

5) Public affairs and political education can also be part of the activities undertaken by this Consortium. Either management or labor may be interested in preserving political education and surely political action as a prerogative that is not surrendered, even partially, to any outside Consortium. On the other hand, it is conceivable that in the area of public affairs such activities as meeting political candidates, discussing issues of public concern (e.g., the planning of transportation, the ethics of government, changes in the tax structure), or even equal time explication of party platforms can be undertaken by skilled and sophisticated persons who bring these programs to the workplace from a politically neutral organization such as an educational Consortium. It can be argued rather persuasively, we think, that the life blood of a liberal democracy is an informed and active electorate and citizens who are willing and able to debate issues and take action on the resulting communal consensus or disensus. Discussions concerning public and political affairs must not only take place in the heat

of partisan elections, but also in the less passionate setting of public schools and universities--and, we would argue, the workplace, as well.

We are well aware of the dangers inherent in such activities. We are sympathetic with the fears that such discussions will inevitably result in partisan electioneering. We might take courage from the fact that such organizations as the League of Women Voters has for years conducted effective political education with many constituencies. We also might take courage from the legal safeguards that permit political education, even at such "sensitive" workplaces as the governmental office. It should be noted, for example, that non-partisan political activities are specifically exempted from the prohibitions of the Hatch Act as are even such potentially volatile and explosive issues as "constitutional amendments, referendums, approval of municipal ordinances." (5 U. S. C. § 7324 (a) (2).) Moreover, 5 C. F. R. § 733.111 provides, in part, that each governmental employee retains the right to ". . . Express his opinion as an individual privately and publicly on political subjects and candidates. . . . Participate in the nonpartisan activities of a civic, community, social, labor or professional organization, or of a similar organization. . . . Otherwise participate fully in public affairs. . . ."

There are vital questions involving the political process that Americans must discuss, including neighborhood and community issues, social justice and ethnic relations, the planning of our environment and habitats, our country's priorities in funding public programs and international affairs. We believe that issues such as these will emerge among those suggested by employees themselves. When they are mentioned, an educational group pledged to serve employees should be capable of responding with imaginative programs.

6) Among the educational technologies to be explored by these experimental Consortia should be the use of television, particularly cable TV, at workplaces. It appears possible that during lunch hours, or even during times when participating employees are released from their duties, programs can be broadcast and two-way communications (through telephone) established between presentors and viewers and/or between various clusters of viewers. It has also been suggested that even employment counseling can be effectively administered through CTV--presumably both in individual homes and at workplaces (Center for Continuing Education, p. 21).

It seems to us that a number of TV programs might be produced targeted at the worker at different workplaces. Such program planning should, of course, include active participants in the laborforce. In fact, using local workplaces to film programs may be an added incentive to employess to participate in the consequent broadcast and discussions. Whatever the educational media, surely the way the message is presented will have considerable bearing on its challenge to adult audiences.

The organizational arrangement of such a Consortium should provide for a non-profit corporation which might be called an Industrial Educational Consortium or, if its scope is to include sizable non-industrial constituencies, just as Regional Education Consortium. Its policy making Board might consist of representatives of organized labor and management, secondary public and private education, higher education, adult education, educational

television, public interest groups, libraries, the public and, of course, representatives of the users of the services provided.

It is anticipated that one of the proposed Consortia would be organized de novo, since existing educational consortia often deal with specified educational constituencies such as higher education. However, if, say, a public junior or senior college can truly encompass a wide area of educational services and credentialing, an argument could be made that such a college be a leading part of an industrial education Consortium. Indeed, the recent Carnegie Commission report proposes the establishment of, among other innovations, "a metropolitan higher education council" and "a metropolitan educational opportunity counseling center" (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1972, pp. 103-114) both of which appear to be eminently congruent with the Consortium idea mentioned above.

We would recommend that of three experimental Consortia to be established, one would be an existing educational Consortium that pledges to dramatically expand its functions and clientele in the direction of workplace services. A second Consortium would include an already existing labor education service and a third might be a newly established endeavor in virgin territory.

The area-wide or regional Consortium would have a small in-house staff supplemented by an adjunct staff of instructors and counselors. While some educational activities would eminate from the central headquarters of the Consortium, most programs would be held at workplaces or adjacent facilities. Indeed, while the management of the Consortium would be centralized, the delivery of educational programs as well as considerable planning of these local programs, would be accomplished in the localized centers, often clustering around a given corporation. Thus, the idea of the workplace as a learning center can quite literally mean the establishment of a Consortium-affiliated Learning Center for X Company. This Learning Center would be staffed by the Consortium, but would have its own user committee which, in conjunction with the staff, would plan and guide the program of the Center.

Funding for the Consortium would derive from a variety of sources. Initially, there might be considerable Federal monetary in-puts for the experimental launching of two or three such initial Consortia. Depending on the success of such demonstrations, "permanent" funding might come from public education sources, contracted services, foundations, plus contributions from management and organized labor. There may also be some form of user fees initiated. Opportunities may avail themselves to operate self-sustaining projects such as contracting with a public school system to operate a work-study program or, as indicated in Chapter IV, ownership and administration of vending machine concessions in participating industrial establishments. Finally, funding through special federal legislation, such as the "Universal Bill of Educational Rights" (Center for Continuing Education, 1973, pp. 20-22) or the "Universal Worker Self-Renewal Program" (O'Toole, 1973, pp. 129-133) should be critically examined.

Funding also deals with a question on which workplace education might well succeed or founder: will paid, released time be made available to employees in order to participate in these educational programs? To be sure, some educational programs will have customers even if employees can only

participate on their own time, have to suffer inconvenience or even social derision, and have to pay a user fee. But surely the chances of educational programs appealing to a broader base of employees would be greatly enhanced if the employee, as a matter of right, can use company time to participate.

It can be expected that management will oppose demands for released time. Such opposition might be considerably lessened if governmental funding would pay for all or part of this "lost time." The above mentioned proposal for a Universal Bill of Educational Rights might well make financial arrangements to compensate the employee or management for lost time. Unions may be expected to make demands for released educational time as they collectively bargain for improved conditions of work. The precedents of released time for health and safety purposes (Red Cross first aid sessions for the workforce, civilian defense exercises, fire drills) and for union business (shop stewards and union committee persons using company time) might be expanded to cover the educational area, especially if and when a national policy is promulgated legislatively. It may yet happen that released time with pay for specified educational purposes may become as common for the factory worker as sabbatical years with pay for college professors or educational retreats for top management.

Activity Recommendation #8: During the past year or two, a number of recommendations have been made for instituting Consortia or other organizations that could provide educational services at or through the workplace. These proposals include Community Foundations (O'Toole, 1973, p. 45), the National Foundation for Continuing Education (Ibid., p. 46), local, regional, and national consortia (Center for Continuing Education, pp. 29-32), Metropolitan Higher Educational Councils (Carnegie Commission, pp. 109 110) and Metropolitan Educational Opportunity Counseling Centers (Ibid., pp. 11-113), Regional Learning Centers (Bailey, 1973, pp. 9 ff.), and external degree institutions (Houle, 1973). These and other proposals for the establishment and funding of educational programs that can reach a wide adult constituency, including employees at the workplace, should be assembled in one document, codified, critically reviewed and analyzed, and discussed by appropriate groups.

5. Union as community organizer

We have previously mentioned a number of roles for unions that enhance services at the workplace. They include a) assessment of union membership to determine service needs and desires, b) gaining knowledge about the broad range of existing services and inventing tailor-made ones to meet these needs, c) utilizing collective bargaining means to achieve such services, d) using the union's institutional and political muscle to legitimize external degrees, released time from work for educational purposes, universal post-secondary educational rights, etc., e) attempting to improve working conditions by introducing services while the work task goes on, such as modern day equivalents of the reader among Samuel Gompers' cigar workers. An additional role that trade unions could assume, to which we wish to devote a few paragraphs, is catalyzing the working class neighborhood for community improvement.

Chapter V contains the case of a blue collar community organizing itself to make its neighborhood a better place in which to live and in the process to challenge the polluting influences of a number of local industries. It is interesting to note that trade unions were not in the forefront of this instance of grass roots community organization. Strangely enough a wing of the local planning commission and the State University were among the forces to give technical assistance from the outside and thus helping an aroused local citizenry.

Why could not unions take a more prominent role in organizing residents of working class neighborhoods? This would constitute an appropriate community service since unions are, after all, experts at organizing and since many of their constituencies live in their neighborhoods. Furthermore, it is precisely the blue collar, working class, and often "ethnic" neighborhoods that have been largely bypassed by massive governmental and private community development programs.

There are of course instances where unions in the past have engaged in efforts at community organization, such as the attempted tenant organization by a UAW local in New York City, or the establishment of store-front offices in East Harlem by hotel workers. Nationally, such organizations as the Center for Community Change, which has enjoyed support by some unions, have been active in community organizations. However, these efforts appear relatively sporadic and isolated and we have not witnessed many unions sparking and supporting massive and locally focused community development efforts.

Program Recommendation #7: A demonstration program should be launched by union groups to assist several blue collar neighborhoods to organize themselves for purposes of solving local problems. Such local organizations, possibly called community unions, would help to catalyze a neighborhood into self-help action by adopting trade union principles to community development.

The idea of organizing neighborhood residents for collective action is, of course, not new. Social workers talk about community organization, Alinsky advocates about mass based organizations, and governmental programs about citizen participation. One of the important ingredients missing in many of these organizing efforts is a strong parent organization that launches and initially supports these enterprises. The sponsoring union could rectify this.

Several years ago two AFL-CIO executives cautiously raised the idea of creating "community unions." Perhaps the idea's time has now arrived. Here is part of their formulation:

> A community union could merge traditional trade union functions with modern community center functions. For example, a community union could bring tenants together to bargain collectively with slumlords. A community union could voice the complaints of a neighborhood through its own steward system and grievance procedure. A community union could develop education and retraining programs. (Conway and Ginsburg, 1966, p. 6)

It may well be that one of the most effective ways to combat the supposed alienation of some blue collar individuals and the reported low self esteem of some white ethnic minorities may be through organized efforts to improve the physical and social aspects of their residential neighborhoods. Such community development endeavors might well include the broad array of activities from creating recreational open spaces to housing rehabilitation, from bringing pressure on City Hall to limit vehicular traffic, to demands for anti-pollution action, from assistance to neighborhood Mom and Pop stores to arranging for carpool services to places of employment, from demands of safety on the streets to self-help efforts for neighborhood festivals. In all of these activities, union personnel and union financial muscle could play a crucial catalytic and sustaining role.

The proposed catalytic role may need a word of explanation. It is our expectancy that the union would help organize the residents around the community's own issues and that after such organization, the union would fade away. The union's task is to catalyze, not to control; to lend technical assistance to achieve the community's own agenda, not to dictate this agenda. There will be voices raised to claim that such magnanimity will be impossible and that the union, even if only subtly, will seek to oil its own interests at the expense of other institutions'. In response it might be mentioned that even if this assertion were correct, the union's entrance into working class neighborhoods in such a manner might well be functional. American history is full of instances of parochial interests engaging in community service; certainly the church has been such an institution. Indeed, numerous church groups are presently active in community organizing efforts and, in our view, have been eminently fair and deliberate in turning control of the activities over to the indigenous population.

It is proposed that the union group or groups participating in this community organizing project utilize their own staffs and their own funding. Governmental funds would be requested for monitoring and evaluating this project by a third party. Assurances should be forthcoming from participating unions that all residents shall have equal access to participation in the organizing activities of the community union and that there shall be public accountability of these activities after a specified period of time, say two years.

6. Less developed program recommendations

Listed below are some service areas that deserve attention, but that are not as fully described as the ones above. All of them should be further explored; Activity Recommendations will suggest specific ways in which such further study can be accomplished.

a) Employees as their own service providers. Throughout our study we were impressed by the instances of service self-help we discovered. There was the employee who, as an avocation, was an expert car repairman who was widely known at the workplace as the man to see with car troubles. He would fix it for a small fee. Or the cook in the cafeteria who willingly demonstrated her skill to fellow employees. Or the many informal arrangements of mutual helpfulness that happen every day.

These forms of self-help are, in our view, important not only for the low-cost or free services they provide, but also for the humanizing of the workplace itself. Can these informal arrangements be systematized to make them available to more employees? Could more providers and consumers of services be discovered and utilized? Are there mechanisms such as a Services Swap System or a Talent Bank or simply a carefully planned bulletin board that could facilitate and systematize this exchange of services? Could such a self-help service request minor fees from the recipient in order to compensate the donor, even if only in a token manner? What are the services most suited to such a self-help system: Housing location? Home repair? Para-professional services? Car pools? The latter item, already instituted in a number of workplaces, is of particular concern with the present energy crisis. It would be interesting to monitor how car pools are being established at workplaces and to report on especially innovative approaches to this problem. Questions such as the above deserve study.

Activity Recommendation #9: In at least two divergent workplaces, employees should explore the feasibility of strengthening and systematizing self-help services between employees. Staff assistance by such an organization as a trade union or a university's labor relations program should be provided.

b) Service affirmative action program through government employment. It had been our hope that the potential role of governmental employment could be the subject of a well formulated Program Recommendation. We have not had the time to fully explore this concern. Nevertheless, we have not departed from our original assumption that governmental units can become pace-setters in providing non-work related services. The Activity Recommendation below merely suggests a way to study this matter.

Activity Recommendation #10: Civil service commissions and public administration groups, on the one hand, and government employee groups, on the other, should separately consider the issue of possible affirmative action programs concerning workplace services, before meeting jointly on the subject. It appears important that management and labor agendas be separately articulated on this subject before joint meetings are held which, otherwise, might bog down as each side is eager to protect its prerogative. Again, the staffing of such meetings might well be in the hands of a university-based group or a professional organization in public administration.

c) The industrial services consortium. In talking with employees and employers at smaller workplaces we were impressed by the number of services that are not available, from amenities such as food services to modern office technology such as data processing. It appears to us that especially smaller firms could profit from joining a consortium that would provide many support services that encompass not only those in the personnel realm (such as health insurance and services, recreation programs, personal counseling, buying clubs, tax preparation assistance, etc.), but also work-related, operational services (such as shared goods movement vehicles, pooled secretarial support, data processing machinery, development of joint physical facilities, legal services including accounting advice, duplicating and reproduction services, and even public relations). The melding of a number of service categories may not only occur in industrial parks, but also in broader geographical areas. The idea that "social" or "soft" services can

operationally be joined to "managerial-marketing" or "hard" services is intriguing and should be tested, particularly in small and otherwise marginal enterprises.

Activity Recommendation #11: One or more aggregates of small enterprises should be helped to plan and operationalize an industrial consortium that provides shared utilization of a wide variety of business support services and non-work related social services. Such a cooperative venture should be carefully monitored and evaluated by a third party.

d) New tasks for university programs. As already pointed out, community colleges, universities, educational consortia, and related educational enterprises can play a crucial role in assisting the establishment, operation, and evaluation of a wide variety of workplace services. One of the problems is that various parts of the university perform different tasks vis-à-vis the workplace and it sometimes appears that each university unit has its hands on a different part of the workplace elephant. The schools of business administration, the labor-management institutes, the guidance and counseling programs, the urban affairs centers, the schools of social work, the work-study programs, the public administration departments, the urban planning departments, the law schools, the adult education divisions, the extension programs, the general studies efforts, the external degree programs --all these and more collegiate units periodically engage in activities pertaining to the workplace. All of them have an actual and potential impact on services at the workplace.

As a first step, these various units--and/or their national professional counterparts (and there are professional associations galore for each of the above)--should share and assess their experiences at the workplace and direct their attention to new functions pertaining to workplace services that could be played by the university.

Activity Recommendation #12: Various educational units that have been involved in workplace activities should gather within the framework of one institution (or several area-wide institutions or on an inter-professional basis nationally) to explore, together with labor and management representatives, new integrated programs that will enhance workplace services.

It is our expectation that resulting from such deliberations there will emerge a number of suggestive proposals for demonstrations in areas such as technical assistance for services, evaluation studies concerning the effectiveness of services, and, perhaps most significantly, plans for integrating worksite and campus education leading towards certification. In addition, such cross-professional deliberations may elicit proposals for new and consolidated funding for such workplace service efforts.

APPENDIX A

PEOPLES AND JOBS: QUESTIONS REGARDING THE PLANNING OF SERVICES

By Stanley Moses

A. Introduction

The evolution of the American economy during the past century has resulted in a number of changes which have far reaching effects on all aspects of the society. Attempts to encapsulate the change have resulted in the profferment of all sorts of appellations such as--"post industrial society," "service society," "cybernetic society," "technocratic society" and many others. Often this search for description takes the form of concentration on some basic psychological or attitudinal shift such as portrayed in the Greening of America or Future Shock.

My concern in this paper shall be upon some basic structural characteristics of the economy which relate to the manner in which people work--in what kinds of industries and occupations; the changing relationship between work and leisure; the changes in the participation rates of different groups in paid employment; and the changing characteristics of the American worker in relation to age, race education, and marital status. In considering these questions we shall be laying the basis for another set of questions which concern the services for workers which might be planned for delivery at the workplace.

B. The Industrial Composition of Economic Activity

Two factors go hand in hand in determining the composition and direction of economic activity. The sector of the economy where the activity is located--agriculture, manufacturing, services--and the skills which are consequently required in the production of the goods or services. Changes in productivity, production and consumption patterns affect the composition of economic production which in turn affects the skill and occupational mix which is required. Technology, entrepreneurial and managerial skills also affect the scale and style of industrial organization. Industry here refers in a broad context to the organizational location of activity.

C. Industrial Change

The major change in industrial composition has occurred in the shift from goods to service production--characterized by the transition from an agricultural to manufacturing and then service dominated economy; and from blue collar to white collar employment.

Victor Fuchs in his study of the Service Economy portrays the shifts which have occurred in the following manner:

TABLE 1

Persons Engaged by Sector
Selected Years, 1929-1965
(thousands)

	1929	1937	1947	1956	1965
Agriculture	9,205	8,864	7,006	5,425	4,039
Industry	18,356	17,125	24,294	27,464	28,194
Service	18,655	21,167	26,400	32,515	39,011
Service Subsector	12,263	12,596	16,718	18,836	22,141

Source: Fuchs, p. 18.

A further breakdown of manufacturing and service into their broad constituent parts is presented in Table 2 (see Statistical Appendix).

These tables reflect the cumulative effects of a consistent set of trends which have been operative for many decades. It is not so much that a "revolution" is now occurring as much as the fact that a dynamic process of change has continually been taking place as the economy has moved from an early to advanced stage of industrialization.

D. Occupational Change

The shift in the industrial structure of the economy from goods to service producing industries has had a number of anticipated consequences in the occupational structure of the labor force. Types of work which involved physical labor and assembly line operations tend to decline, if not absolutely then always as a proportion of the labor force. The processors of paper and the purveyors of goods replace the producers of goods as the major activities involved in the work force. While the broad aggregative categories of manual and agricultural workers declined, the categories of white collar and non-household service increased dynamically. Table 3 illustrates the trend in the percent distribution of the work force which different occupation groups have experienced from 1900 to 1960. (See Statistical Appendix; Table 3).

What is revealing about these figures is that all the service type occupations increase, with the exception of private household. Meanwhile, goods type occupations such as laborers and farm workers and managers continually decline and the more numerous occupations of craftsmen, foremen, kindred and operatives increase but at a very slow rate--significantly less than the growth of the total labor force.

An interesting and parallel development is the fact that an increasing percentage of workers in the goods sector have non-production related types of occupational skills. The nature of modern technology dictates that goods producing industries require more and more services to be performed while at the same time automating many of the tasks which previously required human

labor. It is the combination of these phenomena--the overall movement from goods to service, and even within goods industries from production to non-production--which is responsible for the dynamically changing nature of the American labor force. Consequently the structure of the labor force can best be understood not in terms of the goods-service industrial dichotomy but rather in terms of the occupational distribution of the labor force.

This trend is evidenced in Table 4 which describes the changes which have occurred in the percentage of non-production workers engaged as a percentage of total employment in major manufacturing industrial groups. (See Statistical Appendix; Table 4.) The percentage of non-production workers is directly related to the changes in the productivity and total output of the industry. Where productivity changes occur alongside changes in output there is also taking place a growth in employment--or at the very least, no reduction. It is where productivity has been introduced in industries whose market for products cannot be enlarged that productivity increases result in employment declines. But what is significant for our present discussion is the fact that an increasing percentage of the new employment generated involves occupations of the "non-productive" type.

For example, manufacturing industries engage a far higher percentage of professional and technical workers than do service industries such as wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, and transportation and public utilities--between two and five times as much. This results in the long term secular trend for an increasing proportion of all workers to be engaged in "non-production" occupations.

E. Class of Worker Changes

The changes in the class of worker composition of the labor force are a very significant factor affecting the structure of work. By class of worker, we refer to the question of whether the employed worker is self-employed, an unpaid family worker or the recipient of wages or salary payments. In non-agricultural industries, wage and salary workers are further divided as to whether they work in private households, for government or in other settings. The more industrialized the economy, the greater the reduction in the self-employed category, largely through the reduction of individual farm units. This reduction is also responsible for the drop in unpaid family workers, a form of labor also primarily related to the agricultural sector. Increasing industrialization, while reducing the employment role of the agricultural sector also results in a high degree of specialization in the structure of the economy--a form of specialization which can only be organized and supported through the large industrial organization.

The private corporation symbolized the organizational response to the needs of capital investment and industrial and occupational specialization. This tends to increase the numbers working for organizations, hence the increase in wage and salary workers. Although we do not have specific information on class of worker available dating back before 1940 we can infer much of the decline in self-employed from the decline in the number of farming establishments. Information which we do have available from 1948 to date indicates a continuation of the trend which we infer from an earlier period. In fact, this decline in self-employed workers is currently taking

place in both agricultural and non-agricultural industries--in the former declining from 8 to 2.2% during the period of 1948 to 1971 and in the latter from 10.5 to 6.7% during the same period. (See Statistical Appendix; Table 5.)

The decline in self-employed goes hand in hand with changes in the structure of employment. The more that employment is located in large organizations, the greater the tendency of a decline in the numbers of self-employed. However, a central question regarding the structure of work in America is the extent to which this tendency will continue in the future. Although much is made of the "organized society" aspects of modern industrialism, the fact of the matter is that there are a number of contradictory characteristics which may result in diverging trends. Central to this is the relationship of the location of employment in terms of size of organization as it affects class of employment and the way in which both of these factors are influenced by the increasing dominance of the service sector of production. The service sector is characterized by both smaller organizational size and a higher prevalence of self-employed workers. To the extent that these service industries continue to grow at a rate higher than the rest of the economy, it is possible that there will be a reversal of the types of work relationships characterized by the emergence of modern industrialism. Fuchs marshals a good deal of evidence pointing to the fact that the trend of industrial and occupational composition has been reversed. He contends that the "service economy" means no increase in the numbers of self-employed and a decrease in the organizational size. These are matters, the importance of which we shall discuss at a later point in this report. (See Statistical Appendix; Tables 6, 7 and 8.)

F. Length of the Working Life

Two characteristics regarding time converge with the development of industrialism. On the one hand, the average person spends more years in paid employment while also spending more years in activities of nonpaid work such as education or leisure. On the other hand, the average worker spends less hours of the work week at his job and an even rapidly more declining total of hours in the year at his job. The former development may be characterized by the following table (Wolfbein, p. 120).

TABLE 9

Life and Working Life Expectancy in the United States
1900-1960 (In Years)

	Men			Women		
Year	Life Expectancy	Work Life Expectancy	Years Outside Labor Force	Life Expectancy	Work Life Expectancy	Years Outside Labor Force
1900*	48.2	32.1	16.1	50.7	6.3	44.4
1940	61.2	38.3	22.9	65.9	12.1	53.8
1950	65.5	41.9	23.6	71.0	15.2	55.8
1960	66.6	41.4	25.2	73.1	20.1	53.0

* Data for 1900 are based on whites in death-registration states.

Put more succinctly, it might be stated that under 1900 conditions (Wolfbein, p. 122):

A man of twenty had a life expectancy of	42.2 years
And a work life expectancy of	39.4
Thus his outlook was for a period of retirement of	2.8

Under 1960 conditions:

A man of twenty had a life expectancy of	49.6 years
And a work life expectancy of	42.6
Thus his outlook was for a period of retirement of	7.0

Thus it is a simple matter to conclude that the history of manpower planning begins only with the possibility of time and longevity--without either there can be no planning. It is only the faith in some future which affords the possibility of delayed labor force participation and the development of occupational specialization and training which go with it. And it is technology and wealth which afford the possibility of the existence and choice of such a delayed and complicated route through education, training, occupations and careers.

G. Hours of Work

The length of the work week has been decreasing steadily since about 1850 although we have very limited detailed information about this subject. Between 1850 and 1940, the non-agricultural work week declined by about 2.8 hours per decade. This decline was halted by the increases which occurred during World War II, and while after subsequently decreased by about only one hour during the decade of the fifties and has remained fairly constant since then. However, while the work has ceased to decline the work year has. This is due to the increase in the length of vacations and the number of paid holidays which employees receive. While there has been a good deal of support for increased reduction of the work week as a means of dealing with unemployment, especially on the part of the unions, such measures have not been adopted to any great extent, by either business or government. Other than the present penalties incurred for work hours beyond the forty hour week, government has been reluctant to impose any further restraints or indeed sponsor a lessening of the ceiling.

Business, on the other hand, has often preferred the overtime costs to the alleged higher costs of bringing on more employees. This attitude is especially prevalent in goods producing industries where there is a far lesser utilization of part time workers. In the absence of any major new development, it is expected that the major factor in reduction of time at work will be influences of vacations and holidays on the work year rather than any major altering of the work week.

H. The Centralization and Decentralization of Jobs and Residences

A modern economy is an urbanized economy--a decreasing number of people living and working the land and an increasing number of people living

and working in urban settlements. Originally the source of city growth was population displaced from the land and immigration. The early industrial system dictated locational requirements of concentration of residences and industrial establishments: of people and their jobs. Hence the "centrality" of the central city as a magnet attracting to it the full variety of people and activities generated by an industrial society. At that point in history there existed no alternative to compact concentration. Technology, both as applied to production and to transportation and communication, would facilitate no other form of development. While early industrialism means centralization and concentration, the more advanced the stage of industrialism, the greater the possibility and need to generate decentralizing tendencies, albeit within the scope of one continuous area. Technology enables the metropolis to replace the city as the shape of urban settlement. No longer must activity be confined to the city center--a factor reflected in the suburbanization of both jobs and residences. And while densities of the old centers decrease, the metropolitan areas of which they are a part continually add to their urbanized areas and populations.

The emergence of a metropolitanized economy has important consequences for the organization of work. Here we shall only concern ourselves with a few matters which directly relate to our concern. It makes possible the emergence of large industrial centers and campus style plants. It allows for the increasing segregation of class and race by place. This results in an unbalanced disjuncture between residents and jobs which increasingly isolates disadvantaged socio-economic groups from access to jobs. This inequity is compounded by the inefficiencies resulting from a process of development which increases a skill mismatch between populations and jobs. Many of the dispersing industries offer the sorts of job opportunities which would be most attractive to the population they have essentially isolated themselves from, given existing possibilities and abilities of transportation. And finally the dispersion of economic activity results in the scattered form of suburban industrial development which often renders each firm an enclave unto itself, unapproachable except by car, cut off from contact and access to any larger social body. It is this isolation which forces the business to become a provider of all sorts of employee services which were readily available and taken for granted in the old central city. I shall refer to this in greater length in a subsequent section.

I. The Labor Force--The People Who Hold The Jobs

Until this point we have spoken primarily of the industrial and occupational factors of the economy. Now, we turn our attention to the subject of the people who hold the over eighty million jobs which exist today. What sort of people are they--in terms of their age, sex, color, educational background, geographic location? What are the relationships between these characteristics and the holding of jobs? What are the changes taking place in the forms and degrees of attachment to the holding of paid employment? What sort of changes and trends are currently under way and what is the outlook for the future? And finally, how are all these developments likely to affect the needs and interests of workers as they relate to the planning of services at the work site?

The labor force refers to the number of adults over sixteen who are either employed (full or part-time) or unemployed but seeking jobs. The

labor force should in no way be taken as the total of the adult population. It is an artifact formulated to respond to the need of the Federal government for some system of measuring the dimensions of unemployment. It was formulated during the heights of the depression in that environment of job scarcity and consequently is a far more limited description of the working population than that previously afforded by the previous concept of gainful worker. It was formulated deliberately to understate the degree of unemployment which existed at that time and therefore avoided the concern with the questions of the ability and desire of the American population for work. Instead it focused upon a "market" approach which emphasized the degree of attachment manifested by the active pursuit of work during given prior time period prior to the time of the Current Population Survey.

We shall here concern ourselves with the characteristics of that labor force, since all our reporting systems are structures in that manner. The labor force amounted to about 61% of the non-instructional population in 1971. The broad dimensions of participation are described in Tables 2 and 10. (See Statistical Appendix; Manpower Report of the President, March 1972, p. 161-62.)

These figures are best viewed in the context of the trends which have dominated the scene of labor force participation during the past few decades.

These trends in labor force participation may best be understood through a three pronged focus--sex, age and race. Briefly stated, the following pattern emerges:

1. The overall rate of labor force participation has remained fairly constant over time, staying within 1% of 60% during the past 25 years.

2. Men participate at a higher rate than women, but the difference between the two is decreasing.

3. The participation rates are declining for all male age groups with the exception of the 20-34 group where it is stable, while it is increasing for all female age groups.

4. The participation rate has been decreasing for non-white males while it has been increasing for non-white females. For males this is true of all age groups while for females this holds true for all groups with the exception of the very young (16 and 17) and the old (65 and over) where there has been a decline.

5. The male rate remains at a high peak during the prime years (25 to 55) while the female rate drops after age twenty and only achieves returns to that rate in the late thirties. The length of the trough has been reduced.

6. The rates for women going from higher to lower descend in the following order: never married; widowed; divorced and separated; and married, spouse present. For men the order is somewhat reversed--married men, spouse present, are highest, while single as compared with widowed, divorced and separated men exhibit different ranks corresponding to different age group comparisons.

7. The rate for white males is higher than non-white at all ages except 16-24. The rate of non-white females is higher than that of white females for all ages except 16-20.

8. Participation rates for men are about equal in rural and urban areas with the rate of rural non-farm being significantly less. For females, there are significant differences between the three locations with urban being highest, followed by rural non-farm and rural farm.

9. The male rates for over 65 and 14-19 have shown a significant secular decline while the rate for 25-64 has been fairly constant, although slightly declining. The female rate has shown a significant secular increase since the turn of the century.

An explanation of some of the factors responsible for the above trends is herewith presented for the different age and sex groups. For prime age males the marital status is a key variable affecting participation. At the same time, marital status may be a proxy for a variety of personality and health characteristics which have a more direct causative link with participation. The significant difference between white and negro rates is primarily explainable by taking into account difference in age, marital status and schooling. Another important influence is the pattern of job discrimination which may vary from area to area. Years of schooling is very highly related to labor force participation for prime age males. Health is also an important determinant but adequate data sources are not available to trace the linkage. The availability of other income sources also serves to limit labor force participation.

For married prime age women, two countervailing sets of forces have presented themselves in the following manner. The tendency towards lower rates is related to the increased percentage of married women having young children--a matter uniquely related to the population distribution of the sixties and currently undergoing change; the tendency toward toleration of higher unemployment rate in the United States; the increase in income which has raised the level of family well-being on the basis of the husband's income; and the increased costs for domestic services.

Countervailing pressures acting towards increasing the rate include the movement to a service economy which is related to increasing number of jobs which women can fill; the increased educational attainment of women; the rise in rates of wages paid to women; the reduction of the work week (over the past five decades) and the increase in numbers of part time jobs; the introduction of more technological and time-saving devices into households; and last but certainly not least, the desire to earn and spend more.

For older workers the main forces making for lower rates are related to the spread of compulsory retirement policies and social security insurance which have dictated retirement and also provided for non-job sources of income. The decline in agriculture and concomitant urbanization has also eliminated what had been a major source of employment for older men. In addition, high unemployment rates have stimulated a public policy which encourages early exit from the labor force as a way of reducing the problems of "official unemployment." Women over 65 have been experiencing an increase

in rate of participation, but at a rate much lower than that of younger women. The reasons for this may be associated with a number of factors such as the tendency for older husbands to retire and the accompanying propensity to move to a new area at that time. An additional factor is the generational lag of older women as compared with younger ones on a number of matters such as values and attitudes towards job holding; previous work experiences; significant differentials regarding educational attainment, wealth, and income and leisure preferences--all of which are related to labor force participation and among which there exist significant differences between older and younger women.

As for younger people, two contrary trends exist among men aged 16-24. For those enrolled in school the participation rate has increased significantly during the period since 1940, when a long term secular decline was halted. For males not enrolled in school, there has been a continuation of the long secular trend towards a significant reduction in participation rates. These trends take place in the context of a significant rise in the enrollment rates of younger males thereby significantly reducing the proportion of that age group which might be available for full-time employment. The increase in enrollment rates has resulted in a far higher proportion of the need on the part of students for non-familial income support. This need has encountered two countervailing patterns in the occupational structure. On the one hand the decline in agricultural and some types of industries and jobs together with higher unemployment rates have generated a force towards reducing participation. But the stronger force has been the increasing urbanization of young people and the aspects of a service economy which have generated increasing numbers of part-time jobs--the form of employment which accounts for the greatest student increase in participation. The decline in participation rates for non-enrolled students may be attributable to the intensification of social and personal problems in this group as a result of the "creaming" off of such large numbers into the school population accompanied by declining opportunities for young people in those areas where they might have traditionally been employed.

J. Implications and Questions for the Planning and Provision of Work Site Services

In the previous sections of this paper I have discussed the major trends related to the distribution of industries and occupations and the characteristics of the people who hold the jobs. The assessment of these trends leads towards posing a number of issues and questions related to the consideration of the forms and variety of services which might be planned and provided for employees at their work site. Obviously, there are realistic limits in dealing with this question which are related to the structure of the economy--the distinctions between private and public and other forms of nonprofit enterprises--and to the forms of employee tenure and security arrangements which guarantee job holders against displacement. The question of who should pay for the services--employer, employee, or the larger public--is also a matter not here considered inasmuch as the resolution of this question is tied to a number of larger political and public finance issues which lie outside our present consideration. Our concern will be focused on the varieties of interests and needs, problems and questions which present themselves in our analysis of the American economy and working force and which reveal themselves as the most significant

and likely factors to be considered for the future.

The first set of issues relates to a number of questions which are currently dominating public attention--worker satisfaction and dissatisfaction; worker alienation; the changing ethos of work; and the nature of relationship between work, occupation, income, status, and personal identity. I shall not attempt to deal with these questions, but raising their importance is central to the issues which follow. A forecast of the future which is based upon a declining role for gainful employment alongside a major expansion in nonjob forms of satisfaction presents a very different planning challenge from that of a straight line projection of our current situation where jobs and income are the central delineators of status and achievement; the decline of the work week has been halted; and occupational requirements are increasingly linked to a closely interlocked system of "meritocratic" checks and entrance requirements. The central role of work in an individual's life is not seen here as the question; instead, the issue is whether work will continue to take the form of expression through paid employment or whether economic developments related to increasing productivity, technological displacement, higher incomes and a provision of guaranteed minimum material comforts will dilute the pressures for achieving more income and instead stimulate increased involvement in non-paid work activities.

Whether one conjectures a continued "blueing" of America or the dominance of "greening" or synthesizing "turquoise" tendencies, as described by Denis Johnston in his article "The Future Of Work: Three Possible Alternatives" (Monthly Labor Review, May 1972), we must confront the question of whether work site services should be thought of solely in terms of their relationship to the job or whether the broader range of employee needs and interests should be considered. Certainly, all sorts of conflicts emerge from this question. For what purposes and whose interests are services to be planned and presented? The interests of the employer might obviously dictate emphasis on increased job and organizational loyalty and commitment. The interests of the worker might require a range of services which would encourage greater personal development and growth, often in opposition to the immediate work place and in fact stimulative of greater worker mobility and job turnover. The interests of the larger society may even diverge from the more immediate aspects of individual and organizational interests depending upon the types of goods and services involved in the particular case.

Consequently, the question of what kinds of services requires dealing with the prior questions of services by whom, for what purposes and in the interests of whom. Obviously, the resolution of these questions has important implications for concrete planning and program design. Especially if we interpret the context of services to extend to a mandate broader than that simply related to organizational and work efficiency. It seems helpful for our purposes to pose the question in terms of services where there might be general consensus regarding their desirability, and those areas where significant conflict and disagreement might be indicated.

Consensus would probably exist for providing those kinds of services which would enhance organizational efficiency without incurring individual burden and those which would enhance individual well being and comfort

without impinging on organizational efficiency. Examples of this would be the provision of day care centers, supplementary transportation arrangements to compensate for the disutility of decentralized job locations, social services to compensate for the lack of social infrastructure in suburban job sites, such as religious, library, general informational and counseling, eating and medical, etc. All of these would involve an easing of certain job related burdens which might facilitate worker efficiency or at least not hamper it. They also would serve to increase the workers' attachment to and reliance upon the particular organizational setting where these benefits were proffered. Of course, the matter of the bearing of costs would have to be negotiated but it seems that there might be resultant economies of scale involved in the offering of these services which would make it possible for suitable financial arrangements to be negotiated.

The more problematic and conflict laden issues revolve around the development of those services which seem to enhance worker development in a way contributing to personal development and job mobility which might exacerbate organizational tensions and result in higher rates of job turnover. Especially important in this context are educational services and programs which are more than solely skill and job related. Also involved are the varieties of programs which might be offered to stimulate general cultural and leisure interests. This involves those programs which might be developed at the worksite but is even more pertinent to the participation in programs which have general recognition and acceptance outside the organization. To the extent that these programs have their own institutional integrity and validation they might offer the worker the possibility of enhancing worker potential for nonorganizational forms of achievement and mobility. Central to this question is the issue of the linking of these services and costs to the organizational nexus. To the extent that these programs are seen as part of the job umbrella and solely related to the organization, then their development will probably be of a fragile and tenuous nature. Management would hesitate to offer what might be perceived as injurious to its own interests and workers would also be aware of the contradictions and difficulties involved.

The commonality and divergence between employer and employee interests are of immediate concern within the context of the job relationship. Many of these matters are best resolved within the traditional framework of negotiation and bargaining between employer and employed. Many of these issues lie outside the domain of social purview or public policy and would normally never exercise the attention of planners or policy makers. Of perhaps more immediate concern to the larger society are those issues which directly interrelate with and impact upon issues which directly engage larger social and political attention. These are the sorts of issues which are a central concern of public policy and which also might be addressed or ameliorated by way of public action through the medium of the workplace and the job relationship. Among these issues are such matters as the metropolitanization and suburbanization of work; the changing relationships between work, leisure, income, occupation and personal identity; and the changing demographic characteristics of the work force, as related to age, sex and color.

The decentralization of jobs and residences have introduced many distortions and inefficiencies into the metropolitan labor market. About

75% of the nation's economic activity is located in SMSA's and the trend is for increased concentration. At the same time this regionalization and centralization of activity is accompanied by dispersal of activity over larger and spread spaces of the urban area leading to a declining importance of the older central cities. This process also takes place in a non-random manner in regard to its effect on different socio-economic and racial groups. It is the mismatch between skills and residence on the one hand and the location of jobs on the other which represents one of the major challenges to social policy at the current time. Lower income and minority groups are concentrated in the inner city, cut off from effective access and connection to suburban job markets at a time when the traditional sources of work for these groups are declining in the city centers. At the same time the traditional axis and terminals of transportation are geared round the needs of the suburban white collar upper income and middle class groups who when they do not use mass transit have use of private automobiles.

A major policy issue centers around mitigating the effects of these trends either through transportation, housing, or job location policies. A major role for both unions and management lies in their sponsoring and aiding programs which will facilitate these policies. A more central involvement would relate through the sponsorship of specialized transportation arrangement, housing developments or directing the location of jobs to areas where pools of under-utilized manpower exist. A more peripheral involvement, but also central to the effectiveness of any policies, would be the sponsorship of worker and citizenship education programs either at or away from the workplace which would engage the support, or at least, dampen some of the opposition, to these measures. Here the stress would be on demonstrating the practicality and efficiencies involved in sponsoring these arrangements together with the profferment of any governmental subsidies which might be involved.

Another central issue for public policy is the effects of technological and organizational change as they impact upon the obsolescence of job skills and the displacement of workers. While the spectre of large scale automation with concomitant job displacement and unemployment no longer pervade the land, there nevertheless exists a significant degree of displacement related to both organizational and technological change. This problem impacts upon both the involved industries and workers and also upon the larger society--both in the immediately impacted area and throughout the nation. The worksite can serve as an effective place for stimulating programs which will anticipate and cushion the hardships suffered from dislocation. This could involve the sponsorship of regular educational programs and also the development of specialized company training programs. The latter could also be related to management anticipation of displacement and could tie in with future company needs and personnel changes. In this way the workplace might become an educational center for both management and employees to experiment with the possibilities of creative adaptation to technological change and offering at the same time a greater possibility of a future role for the worker.

A somewhat related issue is the matter of occupational skills shifts and the changes in educational requirements which management requires of the worker. To the extent that employers use schooling credential requirements as a minimum requirement for employment consideration, these policies serve

to shut out potential employees who might just as adequately perform the given job. A good deal of research indicates that the raising of educational requirements has surpassed the actual skill changes involved in occupational change. This tendency has the effect of distorting the processes of a more effectively functioning schooling and employment system. It also places a severe strain on the "process of work attachment" and the "work establishment" burden which falls most heavily on younger groups--the duration of which has extended to increasingly lengthened periods. The need for a more effective relationship between school and work stems from the fact that in the United States the formal mechanisms for facilitating this relationship and transition are highly complex, unorganized, informal and disjunctured--involving, depending upon the individual circumstances, family and class background, mix of family contacts, governmental and school agencies, and the search experiences of the individual. The individual and social cost of this process are reflected in the high unemployment rates for this group which occur simultaneously with the decrease in labor force participation rates; and the high degree of social personal unhappiness and alienation associated with the forced extension of undesired additional years of school and the frustrations of lack of direction and purpose in vocational determination. The problems of making a satisfactory adjustment, difficult as they are in an age of increasing economic and social complexity and specialization, are compounded and complicated by the distortions of a labor market which elevates formal schooling requirements to the role of determinants of manpower allocation.

A major role for both employer and employee would be to develop through the workplace a program of services which could inform both organizational members and the larger community about the nature of work and job development in the particular industry, and also in relation to opportunities in the larger economy. While some of this could be done on the part of employer and employee association through outreach programs into the community a good part of it could be more effectively developed at the workplace. This would help not only the beginning worker but would have benefits for regular employees in helping them to assess future possibilities for job development. These programs might be of the more traditional sort usually presented in schools but they would also involve special programs related to the uniqueness of the particular industry. The educative possibilities for helping both present and possible future workers more realistically plan their vocational goals could be developed by tying the programs in with existing vocational counseling agencies of schools and government and also with additional services provided by management and union directly at the workplace.

In thinking of services which might be developed for workers at the worksite, we must return to some of our earlier discussions about the changing characteristics of employees in America. Central to our exposition is the increase in female participation which has taken place concomitant with a sharp decrease in the rates for the young and the old. The drops in the latter two groups will be more than made up by the expected increase in women. The decline in the proportion of the labor force composed of young workers is expected to become even greater as the effects of the birth rate decline are reflected. All of these diverging and converging trends serve to underscore one point; management will have to orient its employee policies to much more varied age, sex, ethnic and color

groups than it has in the past. The needs of the young striving to make their first work attachment, women workers who will enter, leave and return to the labor force in a manner related to their assumption of family responsibilities, older workers (45 (?) and over) who will be coping with the impacts of job dislocation and the prejudices against older workers; the needs for special attention on the part of minority workers who have been excluded from participation in the larger labor market--all of these groups will require special attention on the part of management and unions in order to cushion their shocks of adjustment and help facilitate a more efficiently functioning labor market.

This special attention may run the gamut of the variety of institutions and services which pervade the entire society. From day care and counseling services to the most highly specialized programs of technical and vocational training and retraining, we may expect to see a greater demand for an active role on the part of employers and unions to respond to the changing needs of workers for more services.

Regardless of what specific form needs and services may take, the over all context of the society seems fairly discernible. The individual will continue to develop within the context of three central social institutions--the family, schools and the place of employment (churches often playing an equal role in relation to specific groups). Family and personal income will be significantly higher, allowing for greater choices among work and leisure. Paid employment and occupations will still be the central delineators of status and class but there will probably be more room for flexibility in decisions regarding the time and extent of labor force participation. While status will still be closely tied to occupations and income, the effects of increasing educational attainment, lower birth rates and higher household income will enhance the leverage and decision making power residing in the individual. Workers will endure less dissatisfaction at the worksite as part of a tradeoff for higher income. Consequently the organization and structure of the work environment will have to be adjusted to make allowances for the greater needs and demands presented by workers. These demands do not only relate to jobs and work, but for adults the worksite will still remain the greatest single consumer of time, attention and energy. And it is very likely that in order to cushion the tension of these new demands upon work, both management and unions will in the future have to make greater allowances for relating to workers in ways different from the traditional market mechanisms of wages and fringe benefits. Instead, concern will have to be shifted to the dynamics and conflicts resulting from individual growth and change in an increasingly affluent society, where even if work no longer remains as critically defining as before, it will still be necessary more than ever before to develop a broader understanding of the worker-person in terms of changing generational and life cycle patterns.

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TABLE 2

Persons Engaged, by Sector
Selected Years, 1929-65
(thousands)

	1929	1937	1947	1956	1965
INDUSTRY					
Mining	1017	993	973	884	670
Construction	2306	1738	3007	3700	3971
Manufacturing	10556	10686	15406	17702	18443
Transportation	3034	2333	2045	2803	2486
Communications and public utilities	1034	901	1190	1492	1513
Government enterprise	409	474	673	883	1111
SERVICE					
Wholesale trade	1744	1857	2625	2953	3362
Retail trade	5955	6095	8020	8955	9767
Finance and insurance	1207	1065	1290	1825	2318
Real estate	368	455	576	733	766
Households and institutions	3249	3060	3017	3995	5076
Professional, personal, business and repair services	3357	3579	4783	5103	6694
General government (including armed forces)	2775	5056	6089	8951	11028

Source: Fuchs, p. 18.

TABLE 3

Percent Distribution by Major Occupation Group
1900-60

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-Collar Workers	17.6	21.3	24.9	29.4	31.1	36.6	42.0
Professional and Technical	4.3	4.7	5.4	6.8	7.5	8.6	10.8
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	5.8	6.6	6.6	7.4	7.3	8.7	10.2
Clerical and Kindred	3.0	5.3	8.0	8.9	9.6	12.3	14.5
Sales Workers	4.5	4.7	4.9	6.3	6.7	7.0	6.5
Manual Workers	35.8	38.2	40.2	39.6	39.8	41.1	37.5
Craftsmen and Foremen	10.5	11.6	13.0	12.8	12.0	14.1	12.9
Operatives	12.8	14.9	15.6	15.8	18.4	20.4	18.6
Laborers, Exc. Farm and Mine	12.5	12.0	11.6	11.0	9.4	6.6	6.0
Service Workers	9.0	9.6	7.8	9.8	11.7	10.5	12.6
Private Household Workers	5.4	5.0	3.3	4.1	4.7	2.6	3.3
Service, Exc. Private Household	3.6	4.6	4.5	5.7	7.1	7.9	9.3
Farm Workers	37.5	30.9	27.0	21.2	17.4	11.8	7.9
Farmers and Farm Managers	19.9	16.5	15.3	12.4	10.4	7.4	4.0
Farm Laborers and Foreman	17.7	14.4	11.7	8.8	7.0	4.4	3.9

Source: Bell, p. 191.

TABLE 4

Nonproduction Workers and Nonproduction Workers as Percent of Total Employment on Payrolls of Manufacturing Durable Goods Industries: Annual Averages, 1947-71

Year	DURABLE GOODS														
	Total	Ordnance and accessories	Lumber and wood products	Furniture and fixtures	Stone, clay, and glass products	Primary Metal Industries					Transportation Equipment				
						Total	Blast furnace and basic steel products	Fabricated metal products	Machinery except electrical	Electrical equipment and supplies	Total	Motor vehicles and equipment	Aircraft and parts	Instruments and Related products	Miscellaneous manufacturing industries
	Nonproduction workers (thousands)														
1947	1357	5	62	44	66	165	81	163	288	225	236	142	62	54	54
1952	1799	48.5	70.5	51.5	84.2	197.4	96.5	205.0	353.5	275.9	371.8	158.8	175.2	79.3	61.2
1958	2251	75.7	65.6	62.1	104.5	225.5	114.6	252.4	416.9	391.7	474.0	154.0	279.1	109.0	73.5
1964	2603	139.8	72.6	68.9	120.0	229.6	113.6	275.5	489.2	507.3	484.7	173.7	266.8	135.9	79.7
1970	3155	110.7	79.8	80.9	131.1	272.2	128.0	329.2	657.5	655.0	560.8	195.0	300.7	181.9	96.9
	Nonproduction workers as percent of total employment														
1947	16.2	18.5	7.3	11.9	12.3	12.9	12.3	16.5	20.9	21.7	18.5	18.5	25.9	20.2	12.8
1952	19.2	27.1	8.9	14.4	14.9	15.4	15.1	19.3	23.3	23.3	21.8	20.4	26.1	25.4	15.5
1958	25.5	47.9	10.7	17.2	18.6	19.5	19.1	23.4	30.6	31.4	29.7	25.4	36.2	33.7	19.7
1964	26.5	57.3	12.0	17.0	19.6	18.6	18.1	23.1	30.4	32.9	30.2	23.1	44.1	36.7	20.0
1970	28.2	45.7	13.9	17.6	20.5	20.7	20.3	23.9	33.3	34.1	31.0	24.2	44.8	39.7	22.8

Source: Manpower Reports to the President 1972, p. 219-20, Table C-6.

TABLE 5

Class of Worker Status, V.J.A.
1780 - 1969

Year	Percent Wage and Salaried Employees	Percent Self Employed Entrepreneurs	Percent Salaried Managers and Officials	Total
1780	20.0	80.0	-	100.0
1880	62.0	36.9	1.1	100.0
1890	65.0	33.8	1.2	100.0
1900	67.9	30.8	1.3	100.0
1910	71.9	26.3	1.8	100.0
1920	73.9	23.5	2.6	100.0
1930	76.8	20.3	2.9	100.0
1939	78.2	18.8	3.0	100.0
1950	77.7	17.9	4.4	100.0
1960	80.6	14.1	5.3	100.0
1969	83.6	9.2	7.2	100.0

Sources: Michael Reich, p. 175; Manpower Report 1972, p. 174, Tables 6 and 7.

TABLE 6

Percentage Distribution of Employment, by Size of Firm or Employer, Manufacturing and Selected Service Industries

INDUSTRIES	Number of Employees	
	Fewer than 20	Fewer than 500
1. Manufacturing (1958)	7	38
2. Wholesale trade (1958)	47	93
3. Retail trade (1958)	56	78
4. Selected services (1958)	57	87
5. Finance, insurance, and real estate (1956)	41	67
6. Hospitals (nongovernmental, 1963)	n.a.	52
7. Local government (1962)	n.a.	49

Source: Fuchs, p. 190, Table 71.

TABLE 7

Distribution of Industries and Man-Hours
by Percentage of Employment
in Establishments With Over 250 Employees

Industry and Service Sectors, 1960

Percentage of Employment in Establishments With Over 250 Employees	Number of Industries		Percentage of Industries		Percentage of Man-Hours	
	I	S	I	S	I	S
0 to 19.99	10	44	12.3	77.2	17.4	70.3
20 to 39.99	22	9	27.2	15.8	22.6	16.0
40 to 59.99	15	1	18.5	1.8	17.3	3.7
60 to 79.99	20	2	24.7	3.5	18.6	8.4
80 and over	14	1	17.3	1.8	24.1	1.6

Source: Fuchs, p. 192, Table 72.

TABLE 8

Employment Growth, 1929-65

	Above Average		Below Average		All Industries	
	Industry	Service	Industry	Service	Industry	Service
NO. OF INDUSTRIES	12	12	20	6	33	18
Characteristic:						
Percent female	14.6	37.8	12.1	44.5	12.9	38.3
Percent 65 years of age and over	1.9	4.6	2.6	6.7	2.2	5.6
Percent working less than 35 hours per week	6.7	13.0	10.2	28.3	8.7	17.1
Self-employment income income as % of total earnings	5.9	19.2	4.2	22.1	4.6	19.7
Percent unionized	51.0	1.5	52.5	20.5	52.0	4.5
Percent with 12 years schooling and over	54.7	69.2	34.2	37.2	41.2	61.4
Percent in large establishments (over 250 employees)	67.9	11.5	50.0	8.0	58.7	9.1

Source: Fuchs, P. 193, Table 73.

TABLE 10

Civilian Labor Force Participation Rates for Persons 16 Years and Over, by Color, Sex, and Age: Annual Averages, 1950-1970

Year	Total, 16 years and over	16 and 17 years	18 and 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 years and over
WHITE									
Male									
1950	86.4	50.5	75.6	87.5	96.4	97.7	95.9	87.3	45.8
1955	85.4	48.0	71.7	85.6	97.8	98.3	96.7	88.4	39.5
1960	83.4	46.0	69.0	87.8	97.7	97.9	96.1	87.2	33.3
1965	80.8	44.6	65.8	85.3	97.4	97.7	95.9	85.2	27.9
1970	80.0	48.9	67.4	83.3	96.7	97.3	94.9	83.3	26.6
Female									
1950	32.6	30.1	52.6	45.9	32.1	37.2	36.3	26.0	9.2
1955	34.5	29.9	52.0	45.8	32.8	39.9	42.7	31.8	10.5
1960	36.5	30.0	51.9	45.7	34.1	41.5	48.6	36.2	10.6
1965	38.1	28.7	50.6	49.2	36.3	44.3	49.9	40.3	9.7
1970	42.6	36.6	55.0	57.7	43.2	49.9	53.7	42.6	9.5
NEGRO AND OTHER RACES									
Male									
1950	85.9	57.4	78.2	91.4	92.6	96.2	95.1	81.9	45.5
1955	85.0	48.2	75.7	89.7	95.8	96.2	94.2	83.1	40.0
1960	83.0	45.6	71.2	90.4	96.2	95.5	92.3	82.5	31.2
1965	79.6	39.3	66.7	89.8	95.7	94.2	92.0	78.8	27.9
1970	76.5	34.8	61.8	83.5	93.7	93.2	88.2	79.2	27.4
Female									
1950	46.9	30.2	40.6	46.9	51.6	55.7	54.3	40.9	16.5
1955	46.1	22.7	43.2	46.7	51.3	56.0	54.8	40.7	12.1
1960	48.2	22.1	44.3	48.8	49.7	59.8	60.5	47.3	12.8
1965	48.6	20.5	40.0	55.2	54.0	59.9	60.2	48.9	12.9
1970	49.5	24.3	44.7	57.7	57.6	59.9	60.2	47.1	12.2

Source: Manpower Report of the President, March 1973, Table A-4, pp. 161-162.

APPENDIX B

STAFF OF THE PROJECT

The staff of the study project included:

Mr. Robert Cohen, Field Investigator
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